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ABSTRACT

This publication reports on college research projects in the humanities and the social sciences which were supported by the Consortium On Research Training (CORT). The two major objectives of CORT are to provide college students with research training and to support significant research. The research reports included in this volume were selected to illustrate the wide range of subject matter studied by CORT supported research. A number of the projects pursue a systematic inquiry into the histories and characteristics of their own colleges and their immediate communities. Topics researched include: academic responsibility with regard to research, the dominance of love in Racine's tragedies, British and American novels treating the bull fight published since "The Sun Also Rises", how the regional backgrounds of students affect their learning of German, the effect that counselors have on Black American college freshman, economics of poverty in South Carolina, and power problems of the Black power movement. The publication concludes with a list of funded research efforts completed, as well as those in progress. (Author/RM)

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RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume III, 1975-76

George Breathett and Ewa U. Eko
Editors

SO 010 307

CONSORTIUM ON RESEARCH TRAINING
Greensboro, North Carolina
27420

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FOREWORD

Every great advance . . . has issued
from a new audacity of imagination.
John Dewey

With this volume, the Consortium on Research Training reaches another milestone in its formal quest for truth by promoting research effort of high quality in its member institutions. The research teams from each institution, varying in size, selected topics and areas of concern appropriate to their interests. All projects were in the areas of the humanities and social sciences, with the consortium imposing only the parameters that they be consonant with any good research effort—originality of thrust and consistency of research form and analysis. It is hoped that the multiplier effect of this research will be an enriched intellectual climate and a contribution to the total academic community.

Contained in this volume are selected research projects from the sixteen institutions which were supported by CORT. They represent varying stages of "the search." While each represents a different stage of research involvement, all carry the distinguishable characteristic of men and women enroute to the Temple of Truth.

Mable P. McLean
President
Barber-Scotia College

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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CONSORTIUM ON RESEARCH TRAINING

PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

1975-1976

ALCORN STATE UNIVERSITY
Lorman, Mississippi

*BARBER-SCOTIA COLLEGE
Concord, North Carolina

CLAFLIN COLLEGE
Orangeburg, South Carolina

COLLEGE OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS
St. Thomas, U. S. Virgin Islands

FLORIDA MEMORIAL COLLEGE
Miami, Florida

HUSTON-TILLOTSON COLLEGE
Austin, Texas

JARVIS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
Hawkins, Texas

LANE COLLEGE
Jackson, Tennessee

LANGSTON UNIVERSITY
Langston, Oklahoma

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY
Itta Bena, Mississippi

OAKWOOD COLLEGE
Huntsville, Alabama

PAINE COLLEGE
Augusta, Georgia

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY AT NEW ORLEANS
New Orleans, Louisiana

STILLMAN COLLEGE
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

WILEY COLLEGE
Marshall, Texas

WINSTON-SALEM STATE UNIVERSITY
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

*Coordinating Institution

INTRODUCTION

The year 1975-76 marks a third milestone in the life of the Consortium on Research Training (CORT). Three years of effort and determination on the part of all who supported CORT and worked hard to increase faculty research competencies, have yielded intangible dividends to all participating institutions. Reports of campus impact assessments emphasize that the pursuit and encouragement of research under the aegis of CORT have not only resulted in the excitement and enrichment of teaching and learning, but also promoted the visibility of member colleges and their constituencies.

The Consortium's twin-goals of providing research training and supporting significant research on all CORT campuses have met with reasonable success. The level of faculty participation in the three-yearly consortium-wide workshops far exceeded original projections of the Consortium. The number of participants have increased, despite the decrease in CORT institutional memberships over the three years under review.

Attendance at Research Training Workshops, 1973-76

		WORKSHOPS			
Year	Number of Member Institutions	I (Fall)	II January	III March/April	Total Attendance
1973-74	20	44(40)*	60(40)	56(40)	160(120)
1974-75	15	37(30)	40(30)	43(30)	120 (90)
1975-76	16	45(32)	36(32)	48(32)	129 (96)

*Projected attendance in parentheses @ 2 participants per member institution

A similar trend has characterized the number of research projects supported by the Consortium. The growth in quality member, type and outcome has been substantial. Some of the projects have resulted in book-length manuscripts which have been published, and now number six, with others to follow subsequently. Many journal articles have been completed, and several of the projects have been presented as papers at professional association meetings and seminars. Others have stimulated teaching on campuses:

Year	Number of Member Institutions	Total Number of CORT Funded Projects
1973-74	20	96
1974-75	15	98
1975-76	16	119
	Total	313

Of unusual interest is the fact that a number of the projects pursue a systematic inquiry into the histories and characteristics of member institutions and their immediate communities. In this regard it is encouraging that a qualitative concern for the institution, its educational program, as well as life of its constituents, and the application of scholarly and technical skills to their needs and problems are now taking place necessarily as a leaven for the transformation of these communities. Thus CORT has helped to spearhead a researching of the small college's mission, its historic roles and shifts that have occurred to date. The prospects are that these investigations, now underway, are being carried out by those, within these institutions, who are intimately knowledgeable and sensitive.

In response to this growing research outcrop from CORT institutions, this third volume of *Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences* features some examples of the types of research projects that have been supported. Those included in this volume were selected solely on the basis of topics illustrative of the range of subject-matter covered. Like the first volumes, a list of funded research efforts completed, as well as those in progress, is contained herein. No attempt has been made to bring into play a unitary journalistic style. The works are being presented in essentially the same form in which they were received.

The contents of this publication serve to reflect the different and varying research competencies and orientations that CORT has stipulated. Their presentation in this volume serves to demonstrate the commitment of the Consortium to developing a new research-oriented consciousness on small college campuses — one that will excite faculties and students to a life of greater research productivity and proficiency in American higher education.

Editors

RESEARCH AND ACADEMIC RESPONSIBILITY

Broadus N. Butler
American Council on Education

Madam Chairman and friends, let me say at the outset that I have had a very long and pleasant intellectual and collegial association with Dr. George Breathett, the director of this consortium. We met first at the University of Michigan some years ago. I remember that even then he had a great concern about and an appreciation for research into the roots of American culture and American history. He was determined to do something about the need to amplify both study and research into the heterogeneity of American cultures, the strengths and the problems of clarification about our American heritage. He even quipped that until the strengths and the syntheses are clearly recognized and respected, America would have no claim to an American culture. I am happy that he has continued a lifetime in that commitment.

I bring to you this morning more of a deep concern than an analytical capacity to elucidate upon the relationship between research and academic responsibility. I would just like to share with you some feelings.

If we are really as concerned as we claim to be about the corruptibility of this society and the culpability of our intellectuals that is symbolized in so many ways including the Watergate phenomenon—we should then have an even deeper concern about the role that our institutions of higher learning and the faculties of these institutions are now having and have had in producing that kind of person. Every principal in the leadership and control of the total pattern that is symbolized and symptomized by Watergate is a person who was educated in one of the best institutions of this nation. Each principal demonstrates the futility of the claims by some legalists, professors and administrators that the promotion of knowledge should be unrelated to concerns about the moral climate of institutions of learning or to the conditions under which the skills of knowledge are put to use by the highly educated. Incidentally, fourteen of the principals were formally educated in the field of law. It is encouraging, however, that this phenomenon occurs at the same time

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[1] A Keynote address to the Consortium on Research Training, Atlanta, Georgia.

that we are returning to a genuine effort to address knowledge and the pursuit of research to moral responsibility.

Anyone who is concerned with the promotion of research should have an equal concern about the distinction which must be recognized between a good writer and a good researcher. A researcher must have a first and foremost concern about the integrity of his findings, the thoroughness and completeness of his methodology, and the consequences of his findings. A writer on the other hand tends to attenuate his findings to the receptivity of the audience and the acceptability of his written product. Between these two there is a vast and consequential difference which is seldom recognized. For example, for the past several years some thirty thousand books were published each year. I dare say that few among those represent the products of respectable research and even fewer show any relationship to respectable scholarship.

The vast majority of all books which are marketed appeal to that fundamental penchant in the American psyche which prefers the drama of distortion to the rigor of truth. Writers find more success in the gamesmanship of rhetoric and statistical reporting than in responsible address to simple fact. Except in the fields of overt and demonstrable technological developments, there is neither sufficient tolerance for nor support of efforts to expand the boundaries of substantial humanistic knowledge. Unfortunately, there is so much attention to rhetoric and questing for abrasive drama in our human relations, that we are either immobilized or embarrassed in face of substantial human fact which runs counter to rhetorical positions or indulged communications styles. We have seen rhetoricians both inside and outside of academe hold sway in the control of both the interpretation and dissemination of research findings and even over the style and integrity of teaching and learning. They have accomplished this by the simple and ancient ploy of denigrating responsible scholars and casting aspersion upon traditional standards of responsibility in research.

We have seen several recent instances of sheer fraudulent research and writing whose authors were elevated to the level of heroic notoriety for their accomplishments. One of them is even writing a book—which will sell—about his prison experience. There is even a new breed of professional folk-scholar heroes. These rhetoricians, and even the pure frauds, include quite an array of persons in responsible relationships to higher education, to religion, to research, and even to the public interest. These persons enjoy undeserved notoriety, and they exercise a disproportionate amount of influence upon students and upon the public alike. They too often are either identified with or lionized by our best institutions of education and religion at the expense of both morality and integrity in our society.

On the campus of an institution which I formerly served, there is an archival collection of several million documents which relate to a most definitive period in American and Caribbean history. It centers upon a legal case—the Amistad Case—which provided the basis for a subsequent fundamental re-interpretation of the American Constitution, and which provided the legal foundation for both the antislavery movement and the founding of many of the institutions with which you are presently associated. This is one of the genuine sources of authenticating documents about a period in which humane endeavors did triumph and institutions of higher education did make fundamental contributions to undergirding human endeavors with morally responsible and, in some cases, eloquent didactic research. Properly and responsibly researched, those documents could render the same service today by providing a different and much more fundamental perspective upon the relationship between the past history of our nation and the problems of the present day.

I was on that campus for almost five years, and I was perennially pained by the fact that the collection was much better known for its sheer existence than for its use by scholars, including the non-use of the collection by the faculty of the institution itself. Even the trustees responded to the collection more in terms of its potential for racial imagery and fund raising potential than for its proper development and support for serious research. It is as though such bodies of researchable documents constitute a threat to prevailing propaganda and, therefore, should be neutralized as academic museum pieces rather than be utilized to serve as sources of authentic reference or as governors upon the excesses of academic rhetoric.

For your purposes, you must know and grow within a context of integrity, if you really want to pursue higher truths and remain faithful to the dissemination of higher learning. As a reward for searching out the more responsible and authentic sources of information and holding yourselves responsible to treat this information with a disciplined integrity, your prize will be the rare engagement in a quality of knowledge and truth that is truly transforming. In rare instances, the endeavors of any one of you may contribute to breakthroughs which literally transcend the present boundaries of all knowledge. There are yet unhypothesized and untested theories about man, about society, about nature, about the universe and, indeed, about knowledge itself to which you as scholars and researchers may devote your few years of life even as the past great contributors to knowledge, art and science. Many of them never lived to enjoy such fruits of their labor as you are privileged to enjoy without their kind of devotion and sacrifice. The greatest among those shared two things in common: They had to live with loneliness and intellectual distance as a fact of life, and they had to see themselves as instruments of the ages rather than as accommodators to the age in which they lived. Unfortunately, even this posture is too often either feigned or disingenuous in the scholarly leadership of our time.

A third condition shared by all true researchers is humility. There are unverifiable facts and untestable conditions which they, as seekers of knowledge, inevitably faced as limitations upon the capabilities of human methodology. No one can face these limits without humility. You, too, must be honest, therefore, with yourselves and with your students both about your dedications and about your limitations, for therein lies the essential meaning of scholarly integrity. We must know that we cannot empirically or even rationally determine in any final sense some of the most fundamental answers that we seek about ourselves, our society, and our universal human condition; but we know equally well that there are norms, standards, empirical and rational conditions which can be framed, scaled, synthesized, and made functionally complete enough to serve as the best possible guides to both the discovery and enhancement of new knowledge, as well as the regulation of life and the conditions of present knowledge.

One of the things that I wrestled with from early life was the intuitive belief that racial and social ills are structured into our economic fabric so indissolubly that one becomes the determent of the other. I could just sense this as a child, and all of my subsequent observations have tended to support in some form a confidence that there is validity in the thesis. But, I do not expect that in my lifetime any more than an intuitive rather than a sound empirically based examination of the thesis will be made or accepted. Data are available, but they are just impossible to replicate and to test under controlled conditions which would satisfy the requirements of responsible scientific inquiry and validation. This methodological defect requires of all of historical and social science inquiry that it see the necessity to refine its instruments of reason and intuition. The social sciences may not rely solely upon the limitations of empirical methodology in dealing with their data. Contrariwise, it must not resort to techniques of persuasion, however well reasoned, in the effort to escape the consequences of unvalidated but empirically sound data.

Another area of fundamental but purely speculative concern to me as a child was the intuition that there is no real basis for the historical schism between the proponents of religion and the adherents to the disciplines of the sciences—especially since each sought by different methodologies the same truth. I happened to have had the good fortune as well as the intellectual perplexities which are a natural part of the life of a male child whose grandfather was a minister, and who grew up under the wing of a minister-idol. They expected that I would become a minister, but I had a childhood bent toward the physical sciences. There was always something to prod me to introspectively debate the relationship between the questing of the scientific mind and the dogmas of institutional religion. Science always lost until I discovered the several routes to both their synthesis and transmutation when I had the good fortune to be introduced to the field of philosophy by a model teacher-philosopher-scientist who saw life, knowledge, the universe, and God in terms which transcended both dogma and empirical methodology.

I can truly say that I entered upon the field of philosophy from a sheer fascination for a level and quality of knowledge which I knew that I would never possess, but a touch of which I would not let myself be denied. Even with my limitations, that engagement wedded me to a scholarly discipline, if not to a full scholarly capacity to support the discipline of mind. It is my first admonition to you that no student who places himself in your charge should be denied the courtship which excellence of teaching, undergirded by a responsible temperament for investigation, can be instrumental in engaging him.

Moreover, it must not be presumed that the product of responsible and disciplined research and scholarship must necessarily be productive of either specific and complete or positively productive conclusions. We have just witnessed a marvelous nonevent in the scientific world which in another field would have brought stigma if not condemnation to the researcher. A comet, Kohoutek, was predicted to appear in glowing brilliance, not to be seen again in our lifetime. It was to be a once in a lifetime spectacular. Far from being embarrassed or apologetic by the lack of appearance of the comet as would have been the case with a social scientist or a humanist who ventures to predict a gross phenomenon, the astronomers made of the non-appearance an occasion to discover new knowledge about comets. They even found support for some fundamental theses about the origins of the universe. One of these tends to support that there is no real incompatibility between the scientific theory of evolution and the religious dogma of spontaneous generation, or between the theory of the conservation of mass-energy and the thesis of the life everlasting. There are precedents in this scientific attitude based in the knowledge of specific relationships between data and methodology and between data and gross natural events.

In still another case, we would not have had the confirming stimulus to mature the theory of relativity but for another experiment which had a negative outcome—the famous Michelson-Morley experiment of 1880. The positive by-product of their negative effort to identify the "ether" as the absolute substance of the universe gave birth to a new perspective upon the fields of physics, mathematics, astronomy and, subsequently, of technology.

A recent contribution to the field of mathematics was made by one of my friends, Dr. Marjorie Morris who, as a graduate student at the University of Michigan, demonstrated that a particular problem had no solution. In fact, she had become completely frustrated at what she thought was the failure of her thesis, only to discover that she was highly praised and appreciated by the department of mathematics for her contribution to the confirmation of the insolubility of that particular problem. She had not only carefully and thoroughly approached the problem in repeated efforts, but she had chartered and described the methodology with a patience and a completeness that eliminated all question as to the validity of the negative result.

Just as she had to do you, too, may some day face the full necessity to assume the requisite detachment to approach a negative result with both equanimity and humility, if that, indeed, is where truth is. You must be willing to accept all of the responsibilities associated with that conclusion; or, vice versa, accept the responsibility to re-examine the data and the methodology when a positive result is imputed unsupported by the data. Dr.

Werner Von Braun attributed the success of the space flights, as well as the high morale of the large team of scientists and technicians, to one key trait of each member of the team. Each was more than willing to suspect himself of errors and to continually examine and re-examine his area of responsibility, large or small. In one case, the lives of three astronauts and the flight itself would have been aborted, but for the readiness of each technician as well as each scientist to re-examine himself on the assumption that it was he alone who made an error. There is no greater capacity for self-abnegation than that which is found in genuinely scientific endeavors; for here the scientist sees himself as the instrument of knowledge, not the user of knowledge to manipulate or to control. Typical of this phenomenon of self-abnegation is that we know well the astronauts, but we do not even think to inquire of the scientists and researchers. Although we take their performance for granted, we do not inquire of them as persons except possibly Dr. Von Braun himself who symbolizes the total team.

Another matter of central importance about the translation of knowledge into experimental designs and programs for the purpose of producing new knowledge is that the principle of redundancy must have as conscious a role in the experimental process as the principle of replication must have in the validation of final results. Everything—every step, every instrument and every procedure must have backup both to protect the process and to protect the researchers. We tend to violate this canon consistently when we go forth in the name of educational experimentation or innovation. When we talk about experimenting with a new curriculum design or grading system, we give almost exclusive attention to the fascination with and reward for change itself. There are neither prior nor post standards for judgment of the quality of the outcomes by reference to controlled and objective observation and assessment. Moreover, if the claimed innovative changes are not held accountable to produce a qualitatively **better** education for the students, then what justifies the change? As a matter of fact, when is a curriculum change an experiment, and when is it in fact just a response to pressure, or a strategem questing for the next grant? When do the changes in fields of knowledge themselves induce measured change in curricula? One seldom sees the proper canons of research and study applied by academe to any academic change. And no protection is given to students who are placed at risk when for whatever reason an institution or a faculty engages in experimentation.

I must say that over the field of recently reported programs of innovation in the past several years, I have seen no new educational forms—no forms for which there are not already historical precedents. I have seen no studied references to or recognitions of those historical precedents—as to their success or even their applicability—before the form is instituted as a new, or innovative or pilot or experimental program. One of the main pressures upon institutions is that they must feign change and play the innovation game in too many instances just to attract the required support to stay in existence. If a pattern of change cannot be either justified or sustained on examination of its educational function and productivity, then what is its value?

I have seen people talk similarly about involvement—another cliche—without making the elementary distinction between the privilege of participating in shaping a process of change and the responsibility that is inherent in the consequences of changes once made. Those who clamor for involvement in the process are equally adept at transferring responsibility for the consequences onto anything except themselves. I have seen lives twisted and the inherent responsibility in the educational process distorted by the innovators and the involvers who do not place the same requirements for final integrity and performance upon themselves that they pontifically require of others.

Let me give you one illustration. A demonstration was planned for a park in downtown New Orleans. The speaker was to be a prominent radical on tour of campuses and cities. He was known to have the charisma and capacity to generate disruptions. One of my faculty members had placed written instructions and persuasions upon the blackboard, urging his class of students to attend the rally. When questioned by his department chairman about the propriety of the act, he claimed that it was within the province of instruction and that the students would not be participants but only observers in the rally. One question, of course, was had he informed the police and the news media that these particular students who would be in the audience were not to be considered as participants. The answer was negative. Another question was whether he would himself be there to guide the learning experience of these observers who were his class. The answer to that question was that he had not planned to be there himself, although his announcement had in fact invited other faculty members to transport students to the rally. Furthermore, the "course" was not listed in the college catalog as an offering of the institution.

Was this really research? Is there no distinction to be made between knowledge by direct involvement and knowledge by appropriate and instructive description, even if the object of learning is directly related to a wholly legitimate course of study? Should an instructor be permitted to teach high energy physics by directly involving students in cyclotrons? Should medicine be taught by exposure of students to diseases? Is there a difference of more than degree between the faculty function with respect to the social action arena and that of the arena of teaching and learning? Is the research function of a different order? In the case here cited, where lies the responsibility for redundancy, for control and replicability, and for identifying resultant findings as having or not having significance for some purposes of knowledge? Moreover, who bears the responsibility for the consequences, whatever they are of the fact of the students being in the setting? Should he be permitted to transfer responsibility to "the university?"

As we look further to our sense of responsibility in the educational enterprise and to the relationship between research and learning, we must know that some things are fundamental and some activities seriously distort those fundamental relationships. One fundamental is that no advance in learning comes about without an undergirding of research and serious inquiry. Secondly, while we cannot do more than speculate about truth in the absolute there are firm and rigorous methodological guides and systems for the theorizing, testing and validating which constitute the most effective approaches made by the mind of man to whatever are the absolute verities. The key to these latter truths is that those things that are most fundamental generally turn out to be most simple in structure; yet they are most difficult to isolate from the complexities of vagueness and ambiguity. The greatest contributors to knowledge are those who have been capable of reducing complex structures and systems to simple formulas for the understanding of man. Consider the simple way in which Newton's three laws of motion or Einstein's quantum theory are codified. Behind the plain simplicity of those codes lies the vast knowledge of entire sciences.

Thirdly, there is an attitude and a discipline of mind and spirit which accepts a unique and satisfying role relationship just to knowledge. It enables one scientist to labor for years tracking a speculation until another scientist confirms the existence and path of a comet. It enabled that first scientist to express his gratitude by naming the comet for the second instead of claiming a proprietary relationship to the finding. When the comet did not actually appear in celestial splendor, the second was not directed because the comet named for him will not now enshrine his name alongside that of Halley for the brilliant drama of cometry. Instead, both scientists saw in the non-appearance a new body of learning about the circumstances and the behavior of comets. They even saw new possibilities for compatibility between astronomy and ancient biblical theories about the creation. Shades of the Scopes trial!

It is estimated that our solar system is some thirteen billion years old, and that it did evolve out of conditions compatible with theories of a sudden and cataclysmic origin out of a cosmic holocaust and with the theory of the seven day staging of divine creative design. There also is a peculiar, and yet to be explained, phenomenon of what are called black holes in space where mass-energy and space-time are either neutral or change at a rate radically different from temporal change. It is speculated that these are regions where change is so static that a billion years is as though it were a fleeting moment. This is not unlike the different rates of aging which are observable among humans. What will this phenomenon contribute to future learning, and how does the researcher even approach its significance? What if a scholar, be he scientist, philosopher, or theologian, actually finds himself in tune to or in touch with some infinitesimal part of such a possible breakthrough in the advancement of knowledge? What is his responsibility to the integrity of himself and of his finding? What of his concern about acceptability? What of the ease with which he could leap to premature conclusions or rest upon distorted but persuasive generalizations? What of his job, if he be too much the non-conformist? The answers to these whats are inherent in the meaning of the scholar's role acceptance.

I place before you one final illustration of a true incident which bears a lesson about the fundamental relationship between research and instruction. Formal instruction is always geared to a specific reward system and scheduled within a reasonably fixed pattern of time units. The most conspicuous reward is the course grade symbol. It is the reward structure by whatever measure it is expressed that engenders emotional distortions of otherwise objective methodological procedures.

Almost twenty years ago, a student of mine undertook a senior research project to examine the hypothesis that seniors should be more religiously and psychologically mature than freshmen. He both researched and developed a satisfactory questionnaire for the purpose. He handled well the responsibilities to establish controls over the use of his test instrument as well as to eliminate possible influences of one participant upon another. He even satisfied the conditions of replicability and redundancy. To all intents and purposes his approach was sound. That itself became a problem to him. The results were showing that in the key areas of measurement and response, there either was no significant difference; or, where there was a difference, the freshmen showed somewhat greater maturity than seniors. The student, who was a senior, became so disturbed by this and so fearful that he would fail to graduate because of the failure to "prove" his hypothesis that he stopped in the middle of the project report and wrote that his project was **not** yielding the right results, and that the investigator must take his own offensive to prove his hypothesis. Needless to say, that offensive departure caused the report itself to fail, even though he later accepted the consequences of his findings.

Had he let his data move to its conclusion, he would have found support in a later and more extensive study by a faculty team at a major institution which sampled a number of institutions some twelve years later. It found, indeed, that the aspiration levels and the moral and spiritual expectations of themselves **by** freshmen were higher than the faculties of the institutions ascribed to them. However, according to the later study, by the time they are seniors the students' value levels are closer to the faculty perceptions of them than to their original perception of themselves. This may well be what the student's research project would have revealed those years earlier had he had the humility to follow rather than to lead his data.

Thanking you for your patient indulgence, I now close by reiterating that we must try in our limited capacities as scholars to make as sound and as respectable contribution to the advancement of learning and to the advancement of our Nation as we can through the knowledge process. We must support a pattern of scholarship still unrealized among us which will have a point of universal rather than parochial reference. We must look to those points of reference many, many years ahead and educate ourselves and our youth to be servants of **that** posterity more than myopic consumers of the benefits which have come to us in this day. We must look a long, long way down the years to see our own significance in this day.

If we will then, individually and institutionally, get beyond an all consuming black myopia and begin to look at those larger and transcending horizons of both knowledge and service, and if in that process we begin to again know that there are black scientists but no black science, that there are black scholars but no exclusive black knowledge or condition; moreover, if we do that which is our fundamental responsibility to do as teacher-scholars not simply for ourselves or for this generation, but for the long posterity for which we are preparing future scholars, then we will try to make as accurate, as faithful and as constructive a contribution to this whole nation of people as we in our persons can make.

If we will do these things well and truly, then we will justify whatever investment the past has made in making scholars of us. We are charged to teach and to research truth so that we can best reflect in our own lives some of the wisdom of the ages. I sense also that we will then have reflected to our society the most real meaning of higher learning in the institutions which we represent and which produced us. Let this be our special way of being exemplars of what is most fundamental in our relationship to instruction, to research and to academic responsibility.

THE AUGUSTINIAN (NORTH AFRICAN) ROOTS OF THE ADOPTIONIST CONTROVERSY

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I

The "Adoptionist Controversy" occurred in Visigothic Spain during the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The principal proponents of Adoptionism were Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel. Their views were condemned under the leadership of Charlemagne's theological leaders at the synods of Regensburg (792) and Frankfort (794).[1] Before it was over, this debate had come to involve peoples, pope, and emperor.

The point at issue was one that of necessity was crucial for Christian civilization of that day. It concerned the question, "Who is Jesus Christ?" Elipandus and Felix were simply insisting that Christ, insofar as He is divine, can be called Son of God by nature. But in so far as He is human, can be called Son of God only by "adoption." At first glance this question seems to be abstract theology on a plane with the mythical discussion of 'how many angels could dance on the head of a pin.' But neither the Adoptionists, nor their opponents felt this way about it. To all of them, this was a question which went straight to the heart of Christology and piety, and was thus crucial for one's understanding of God, self, and value.

Felix and Elipandus reasoned as follows: The whole of Christian life and salvation depend upon the similarity of Christ to the believer. Therefore, this similarity must be maintained at all costs. He is our Head, our archtype, our oldest brother. Unlike Adam, who lost his sonship through disobedience, Christ, the second Adam, has been adopted into sonship through that obedience which still is given by the grace of God. He has opened the door, and by following His example we too can be adopted as sons. But if He is not adopted, then His situation is quite different from ours, His humanity is somehow other than ours, and the benefits of the Incarnation cannot apply to us, being enacted outside our sphere. The adoptionists, therefore, insisted that Jesus, like the believer, must have **two** births. One, His natural birth as a man, and the second, spiritual birth or adoption.

The opponents of adoptionism were equally adamant in insisting that the very core of Christianity was at stake in this debate, but of course they viewed the question from a completely different side. Alcun, their most active spokesman, insisted that both our salvation and the glory of God are best assured when we keep in mind that God has united the humanity of Christ to Himself in a unique way—a way that makes Him different from the rest of us. Christ's humaness is nothing without its existence in the Word of God as the center. Thus, any "adoption" of the humanity of Christ not only becomes unnecessary, but cuts at the very heart of the unity of the Incarnation. It would leave us with two Christs—the human and the divine—and deny God's bestowal of immortality upon man just as the heretic Nestorius had done 300 years previously.[2]

Two aspects of the adoptionist debate are worthy of note. First, when either side discusses Christ, they fail to do it in the abstract, but rather in terms of His relationship to the believer. While it is crucial for the adoptionists that Christ be **like** the believer, it is just as important to the anti-adoptionists that Christ be **unlike** the Christian believer.

Secondly, it appears surprising that this debate should have occurred at all. It arose in the West, where Christological controversies seldom stirred the blood as they had in the East. It originated in Spain, an area usually thought to have been on the fringes of civilized Europe at this time, barely touched by most current intellectual movements. Therefore, it appears to be absurd in the history of western thought, appearing without progenitors and dying without descendents.

Numerous attempts have been made to find some reasonable intellectual or historical roots for adoptionism, but most of them seem strained or even far-fetched. Some have seen it as the natural reaction to the monophysite tendency of Eastern mysticism.[3] Others have looked to the situation in Spain itself, particularly in its Islamic influence or in the use of the Moarabic liturgy.[4] Carolingian and papal meddling in Spain have also been cited as causes of the controversy.[5]

The purpose of this paper is to show that one need not seek far and wide for the roots of the Adoptionist controversy, but that they may be found in the Augustinian tradition of theology which, all admit, dominated the thought of the medieval west. I will further show that **both sides** of the controversy are logical results of the Augustinian tradition and the views of both can be found in the great African doctor himself. Thus it is necessary to begin with a study of Augustine's own Christology. As we shall see, his view of the Incarnation developed and changed over the years, and different strands of his thought were emphasized in arguing against varying opponents.

II

The overriding concern of the young Augustine was for the full or happy life—the *"beata vita."* This was the title of his first work as a Christian convert[6], and it maintains a prominent role in his thinking throughout his life. Yet this goal was doomed to failure unless carried out with an eye to the *telos* or goal of human life. In Augustine's case this goal was the possession of truth *(veritas)* or wisdom *(sapientia)*. This wisdom had a double nature: it was both the true measure of human life at its fullest[7], and also the Second Person of the Trinity. Therefore, the search for fulfillment was also a search for God.

This view of life dovetails that expressed in one of Augustine's most important early works, *The Morals of the Catholic Church.* In this book, Augustine begins by defining happiness as possessing what one desires or loves. But if this definition is true, then human happiness depends upon loving the right thing. This object of our love, in order to make us happy must be obtainable, must really be good for us, and must not be able to be taken away from us against our will. There is only one object of our love which can fulfill these requirements, and that object is God. So the love of God is the source of human happiness as well as goodness.[8] But the heart of the human problem seems to be just this: that man finds himself unable to know and love God, and is thus unable to secure the full life. Why is this so? To answer this question, it will be necessary to examine Augustine's teachings about man and the Fall.

In a letter to Caelestinus in 390 A.D. he describes his basic presupposition about reality and its three levels:

> There is a nature which is mutable in terms of place and time—the body. There is a nature which is not at all mutable in terms of place, but is mutable to a certain degree in terms of time—the soul. There is a nature which is able to be changed neither in terms of time nor in terms of place—this is God . . . . And that which is in the middle lives miserably by inclining toward the lower, but by being turned back toward the highest, it lives happily.[9]

Thus the soul of man, in the pure state in which God created it, lives in the "middle realm," between God and the body, subject to temporal, but not spatial, or bodily motions. In fact, the abhorrence of all passivity of the soul in the face of the bodily senses is a major theme for Augustine. In his work *On Music* he says:

> For I think that the body is animated by the soul only to the purpose of the doer. Nor do I think it is in any way affected by the body, but it acts through it and in it as something divinely subjected to its dominion.[10]

But he adds that this is no longer the way things are for man as we now know him, i.e., for man who has turned away from God:

> But when the Lord is neglected, intent on its servant with the carnal concupiscence it is reduced by, the soul feels the movement it gives to its servants, and is less.[11]

How does it happen that the sins of the soul subjects it to be affected by the body? He explains this as follows:

> Be rather amazed at the body's being able to make anything in the soul. For it could not, perhaps, if the body the soul used to animate and govern without trouble and with the greatest ease, changed for the worse by the first sin, were not subjected to death and corruption . . . and neither its death nor its disease deserve to be without some ornament. And the highest wisdom of God designed to assume this wound . . . when He took upon Himself man without sin, but not the condition of sin . . . in order that we might rather look to the **pride** we most deservedly fell into these things by, than to the **humiliation** He undeservedly suffered . . . and so it is not surprising a soul operating in mortal flesh feels the passions of the bodies.[12] (emphasis mine)

Notice that **the** sin of which Augustine speaks is that of pride—an expansiveness by which a person attempts to become more than he is, but which has the inverse effect of actually lowering him from his previous station. One might picture Augustine's ideas about this matter by thinking of a dry sponge which expands when set in water, greedily soaking up that liquid, but by this very act it introduces a "foreign" element into itself, and thus is afterwards necessarily influenced by what is really not an enhancement, but rather a pollutant of its pristine purity. The upshot of all this is that man's soul, which will no longer be ruled by God, can no longer rule its own servant, the body, but is now tossed about by that body's passions, and dependent upon its senses. Such a reversal of the natural order of things cannot help but do harm to that search for God which leads to happiness. We can no longer see God within, since we have turned our love toward the exteriors of sense, and have become entrapped in them.

A year or so after the writing *On Music,* Augustine struggled to interpret the biblical statement that God waters the earth from the clouds. He believes that this refers to God's teaching man (watering the earth) obscurely, through clouds. But such indirect and obscure means of communication were not always necessary:

> . . . but before sin . . . God watered him by an interior font speaking in his intellect, that he should not take exterior words, as the above mentioned rain from the clouds, but he was filled from his font, i.e., from his truth abiding within.[13]

And he continues in the next chapter:

> And seeing that through pride he began to swell toward exterior **(in exterioria),** he was no longer watered by the interior font, well did the prophets, words taunt him . . . and therefore now working on earth he has the necessary rain from the clouds, i.e., doctrine from human words.[14]

The dire effects of human pride are now so complete that even God must now make use of the exterior sound of words, since man cannot—or will not—learn in any other manner.[15]

Since such words are now crucial for human recovery, it is important to understand clearly how Augustine views the term "word." Although attempts have been made to see his understanding of word **(verbum)** as something interior and intellectual, his own early writings show that for him "word" referred to outer speech. It must be remembered that he was trained as a rhetor or public speaker, and soon after leaving that profession, embarked on the life-long career of preaching.[16]

But this speech orientation of Augustine's concept of words created problems for his Platonic mind-set. If truth is something within, and words are somehow exterior, physical signs, how can they be related? He answers this question, in fact, by separating meaning and word into wholly different realms. This meaning, **(dicibile)** which is sensed not by the ear, but by the soul is clearly distinguished from the uttered word (verbum).[17]

This strict bifurcation of words into two realms leaves Augustine with the difficult task of trying to show how words can make any kind of contribution to human understanding. He deals with this problem in his book *The Teacher*, written in 389 A.D. The main conclusions of the book are as follows:

> Words are valuable to this extent at the most, that they **admonish** us to seek things, but they do not exhibit them to us that we may know them. But he teaches me something who presents to my eyes, or any body sense, or to my mind itself that which I want to know. Therefore we learn nothing from words except words—indeed only the sound and noise of words.[18] (emphasis mine)

The linguistic outlook is even more bleak when the knowledge in question is of universals—those spiritual truths, the knowledge of which brings happiness:

> Concerning universals of which we have knowledge, we do not listen to anyone speaking and making sounds outside ourselves. We listen to Truth which presides over our minds within us, though of course **we may be bidden** to listen by someone using words. Our real teacher is he who is so listened to, who is said to dwell in the inner man, namely Christ, i.e., the unchangeable power and external wisdom of God.[19] (emphasis mine)

Thus we see that words, which are neither things, nor intellectual truths, cannot teach us. But they can admonish us or bid us through the senses to look at the understanding within us. And this is no small matter for man who finds his mind oriented to the senses and thus trapped by them. Man, who will not focus his attention on anything but the sensual, must have a sensual stimulation to force him to look within. Therefore words, lowly as they are, form an important beginning point for human learning.

To sum up the conclusions reached thus far: for Augustine, human happiness can only come through the inner possession of, and love for, the Truth, or God. But being disoriented by

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pride, we have trapped ourselves into a dependency on exteriors, including words and other signs, which are incapable of teaching inward and spiritual truths. Words do serve one important function, however. They can stimulate man to look to the wisdom within.

Man's self-entrapment is what necessitates that God Himself speaks to man through prophets and other words and signs, as we have already seen.

This brings us to a point crucial for the understanding of the Christology of the young Augustine.[20] For him, Christ is seen primarily as revealer, i.e., as **the** Word of God to man. He comes as a man to man, and, offering something for us to look at without, stimulates us to look within. As early as Cassiciacum, Augustine insisted that the true philosophy is of the intelligible world. But human reason could never have led souls begrimed by the sensible to that world had not the highest God, through His clemency, declined and condescended the authority of the divine intellect all the way to a human body. By this, souls would not only be taught by precepts, but also excited by deeds to return into themselves (redire in semetipas) and look back toward their fatherland.[21] It may also be recalled that when he described, in *On Music*, the wound of corruption which we bear due to pride, he immediately added that Wisdom took up this wound so that in observing Him we might perceive the effects of our own pride.[22]

The remedy for the disorientation which pride introduces in the fall is the voluntary condescension of Wisdom itself. The Incarnation gives man something to look at: the contrast between his own self-evaluation and the humility of Wisdom. This sign sent by God does not give us understanding; no sign can do that! But it stimulates us to look back at ourselves. The "know thyself" comes as a challenge to see ourselves as we really are, prideful and swollen, and thus offers a starting point away from the senses and toward truth.

Thus Augustine's earliest treatments of the Incarnation correspond directly to the way in which speech is treated in *The Teacher* and elsewhere during this period. By 396 A.D., this parallel becomes explicit:

> Therefore, just as the coming of the Lord is understood as corporeal demonstration **(demonstratio corporalis)**, before this demonstration He spoke in all the holy prophets as the Word and Wisdom of God.[23]

He draws these thoughts together in a beautiful passage in *On Christian Doctrine.* Here he says that the soul must be purified to perceive the light of the unchangeable truth:

> But we would not have been able to do this, except that Wisdom Himself condescended to fit Himself to our own infinity and showed us an example for living, not otherwise than in a man, seeing that we also are men. But because when we come to Him we do wisely, when He came to us, He was thought by proud men to have done foolishly . . . . Therefore although He Himself is our fatherland, He also made Himself the way to fatherland.
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> And although He is everywhere present to the eye which is healthy and pure, He also condescended to appear to the fleshly eye of those whose interior eye is infirm and unclean.[24]

Just as when we wish to express or reveal what is in our minds, we speak words sounding in the air, and yet our original thought is neither lost to our minds nor altered in them, so also the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.[25]

It is clear that in Augustine's mind only the human nature of Christ can be called the mediator. Meditation only occurs in the Incarnation and there it is limited to humanity.[26] This comes as no surprise when one considers that the Incarnation is understood in the same terms as sounding signs. When words are used by men, it is only the sound, as it forms a sign, which mediates between mind and mind. That is all that the outer "husk" can do,[27] but it can do that, and therefore humanity plays a crucial role in the salvation of man.

If, then, humanity mediates truth by signification, what, in fact, does it signify?[28] First and most essential is **humanity.** Since it is by our pride that we have turned away from inner truth and become dependent on signs, Christ takes on humanity as an act of humility, thus giving proud man a sign. He humbles Himself to "flatter our infirmity."[29] There is no more constantly recurring Christological theme in early Augustine than this contrast between His humility and our pride.

> And so it happened that the Word of God through Whom all things were made . . . stretched forth His clemency all the way to our misery, and the Word became flesh and dwelt in us (Jn. 1:14) . . . . The food of the rational

> creature became visible, not by a change of His nature, but by fitting it to ours, that he might recall the followers of the visible to His invisible self. So that soul which had proudly (superbiens) relinquished Him within, might find Him humbly (humilem) without, and imitating His visible humility, it will return to the invisible heights.[30]

Pride (inauthentic humanity) is overcome by its opposite, humility (authentic humanity). The swelling of man into exteriors is countered by the condescension for the divine Word to the lowliness and external visibility of humanity. The contrast is essential for Augustine: descent is not the same as fall. They are opposites: Adam fell by pride, but Christ descended by mercy. By seeing the humility of the divine condescension, we are made aware of the full perversity of our own pride,[31] and are also given a full human example to follow in its opposite.

Augustine insists repeatedly that Christ is our example, the pattern of our holy life, the one whose humanity we are able to imitate in order to live rightly and gain our goal.[32] But this imitation is certainly centered in humility. In light of this, whoever follows Christ ,will not only be imitating what God does, but will also return to his own proper order, which he had left through pride. In fact, directly following his explanation of the proper order of reality, which we cited earlier, Augustine goes on to say: "He who believes in Christ does not lower himself in that which is lowest, is not proud in that which is intermediate, and thus he is qualified for union with that which is highest . . ."[33]

So the outcome of all this is that, as with all addresses by words, man is stimulated to look to the truth within. And what does he find there? He finds that God is already present in him! He always had been, but man had not been looking. This is the second thing signified by the Incarnation, and is inseparably bound up with the first. Spiritual realities are not limited, but may be apprehended in one place, just as the meaning of a word may be heard in one spot by the listener. So the Incarnation shows in one man Jesus Christ, what is really already true everywhere—that God is present with us.[34] This theme will form the basis of the "Augustinian mysticism" of the Middle Ages.

The main strands of Augustine's early Christology are now before us. But before we turn to some other important, but less central themes, it will be worthwhile to emphasize some of those aspects of his thought which will bear on the Pelagian and Adop-

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tionist controversies.

First and foremost, in all of these discussions, Christ is seen to be **like us.** He is one of us. A man among men. He descends in weakness to our weakness. He approaches us as like-to-like. Secondly, as one of us, he is the **example** of what we can be, especially in regard to the ultimate virtue, humility. Thirdly, there is very little mention here of the grace which will loom so great in Augustine's later thought. We do, indeed, stand in need of God's help, but that help is in the **exterior** revelation and pattern given in the man Jesus Christ.[35]

Since the Incarnation is a "word," and Augustine divides words cleanly into meaning and sound signs, it would seem to follow that Augustine would tend to emphasize the distinction of the two natures. And this is in fact exactly what he does during this period. For example, when trying to explain Paul's reference to Christ "according to the flesh" he says:

> Therefore, not only by these words, **secundum carnem** did the apostle distinguish the humanity from the divinity, but also by that **factus est** which he said. For He was not made according to that which is the Word of God. For all things were made through Him.[36]

The distinction is made plain in other places as well: Christ was David's Lord as Word with God, and His son as Word made flesh.[37] According to the divinity He has no brothers, but according to the taking up of man He may be called brother.[38] The man Jesus rejoices in the strength whereby the Word was made flesh.[39]

Yet while the emphasis on the distinction of natures predominates during this early period, an insistence on the unity of the God-man takes an early, and ever growing part in his theology.[40] God took up this man in such a way that he became one with Him **(ut simul cum ea Deus fieret).** The soul of this man inhered and as it were, coalesced **(inhaesit et quodammoda coaluit)** with the Word.[41]

It is precisely in this union, in its completeness and its permanence that the uniqueness of Christ is to be found over against all other events and persons! As early as 389 he asks his friend Nebridius, "Who has ever been shown to men who is as great as that man whom God took up entirely otherwise than other saints and wise men?"[42] A few years later he would have Christ say, ". . . for from this, that the eternity of your Word does not cease to unite (unire) itself to me, it happens that I am not such a man as the rest of men . . ."[43] It is this unique union that also makes the Incarnation a unique revelation as over against other theophanies.[44]

I submit that it is precisely this unity that makes the Incarnate Word God's preeminently **true** Word. Other men and creatures have been used to teach us, to heal our inward eyes by smearing them with clay, as he says.[45] But now, since the humanity—the creature—is in some ineffable way united to the divinity without merging with it, the unity of the intention in the mind and in the sign is complete and, therefore, the speech is in a way not possible before, God's own speech. In commenting on the Sermon on the Mount, Augustine says, ". . . perhaps now He is said to have opened His own mouth **(os suum),** while in the old law He was accustomed to open the mouths of the prophets."[46]

While the completeness of the humanity, and its distinction from the divinity is the focus of His **likeness** to us, the exalted nature of the unity is what **distinguishes Him from us.** This will become important in the later Augustine.

But even in this exaltation, there is one area of Augustine's thought where we are at one with Christ—in the Church. He takes the metaphor of the *corpus Christi* in its strongest possible sense, often combined with the Scriptural admonition, "the two shall be one flesh."

> Therefore, what did it mean that we said He left the Father, except He left to appear to man just as He is with the Father? . . . And He adhered to His wife, which is the Church, that the two shall be in one flesh. For the apostles said He was the head of the Church, and the Church was His body.[47]

And he says elsewhere of Christ, ". . . into that man the Church has also been taken up by the Word."[48] It is important to notice that the unity spoken of here is **not** with humanity in general, but only with the Church.[49] This will have important consequences for Augustine's later positions against both the Donatists and the Pelagians.

But even here the exaltation of the Church is far less than that of Christ, Himself. Augustine takes the head-body analogy quite literally, insisting that the body can be equal in dignity to the head. In fact, he makes it a principle of exegesis, that if a statement by Christ does not befit His own dignity, it must refer to the Church. He makes this clear in his work, *The Christian Struggle:*

> For although He is the same nature as the body of the Church, who does not understand how great a difference there is between the head and the other members? For if that man is the head of the Church, by whose being taken up, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us;" the other members are all the saints, by whom the Church is perfected and completed.
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> . . . The man Jesus Christ, mediator between God and man, is the head of all the saints, as of one body. And therefore the Wisdom of God and the Word . . . did not assume this man as He did the other saints; but much more excellently, much more sublimely . . . . For it may be correctly said of other wise and spiritual souls that they have in them the Word of God; but none of them is it rightly said that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," which is said in absolute correctness only of our Lord Jesus Christ.[50]

Thus we see that there are two emphases in the Christology of the young Augustine. The first, which stresses the distinction of natures also emphasizes the likeness of Jesus to us as our example of humility. This theme dominates in the early period, but another theme exists along side it—the theme of Jesus' exalted union with the Word, which makes Him **different** from us. This later theme will become dominant in the Pelagian controversy.

III

Ponder the possibilities inherent in the following compound, first, the environments. The Roman Empire is at its highest level directed by an effete corps of aristocrats, who knew little about the empire and cared less. Yet they insisted upon both pay and privilege. At the other end of the social scale are the idle poor, yapping for bread and circuses as their due. In between, a beleaguered middle-class, now almost extinct, was expected to pay for all of this.

Legally and morally the situation was equally bleak. The cruelties of the Coliseum continued, as did the renowned orgies. The Church had managed some improvements in the midst of this moral bankruptcy, but it had in fact adjusted all too well to its surroundings. Both sexual profligacy and simple greed were known among the clergy, and the average Christian was indistinguishable in habits from the average pagan. Intellectual and moral standards were difficult to devise and even harder to enforce in an age when Christianity had become popular and even profitable.[57] Roman virtue had prided itself on the ability to bring order to chaos. This meant the passing of laws. When laws did not work, other more elaborate laws were passed, until the empire was left with a tremendous and rigid superstructure about to collapse under its own weight. Yet this waste system of laws had seemingly little effect on a daily life where chaos grew constantly worse.[52] The lights were about to go out.

Into this environment add the second ingredient: A young man, trained in the highest traditions of Roman law, and dedicated to its most noble ideals of virtue. The young man was so enthusiastic about finding the truly good life in Christ that he lived a life of monastic dedication without ever taking the habit or orders. The young man was Pelagius. His movement would be named after him. Faced with the decadence about him in society and even in holy Church, his moral sensitivities would be offended, his deepest religious feelings hurt. Yet he would reform the Church and bring it back to its true self. Given the combination of the zealous reformer, Pelagius, and the environment at Rome, the situation was volatile; perhaps even explosive.[53]

Pelagius was above all else a moral reformer. A spirit of moral earnestness breathes through every page of his writings.[54] Even Jerome could not make any accusations against his morality "stick," and Augustine held him in respect.[55] His ideas cannot be properly understood unless one understands that his constant and central concern was for the improvement of Christian piety. Everything he did and said and wrote orbited around that sun.

But there can be little possibility of self-reformation if one gives up all hope of ever improving. What can be done when the person we admonish for his alcoholism or greed will say, "I am too weak to change?" Shall we agree with him? Not Pelagius! This would only be an insult to the God who created us morally good. It would also cut the chord of moral enthusiasm. Part of Pelagius' appeal was that he was a positive thinker, always ready to encourage the down-cast with a "yes, you can!" Otherwise, moral admonition would be useless. In a letter to the young nun Demitrias,[56] written in 413 (perhaps with one eye cocked toward

Augustine, who had recently entered the lists against him), Pelagius says:

> Whenever I am to speak concerning the institution of morals or the conversation of a holy life, I am accustomed first to show the power and quality of human nature and to hold forth what it is able to effect: and thus to incite the soul of the hearer to the ideal of virtue, lest it profit it nothing to be called to those things which it will have strongly presumed to be impossible for itself. For in no way are we capable of walking in the path of virtue, unless we are led in company with hope, since every attempt at striving perishes from desperation of attaining.[57]

Just as a good general will aid his soldiers by reminding them of their strengths, Pelagius will remind the Christian combatant of his abilities: "First, look at the goodness of the author of your nature, God Himself. Then see that the world He made He then called good and very good. Observe that this good God made you in His own image and similitude. Your exhalted station is made evident in that all other creatures have been subjected to you. You are their lord, even though you lack their bulk, their powers, and their weapons."

> But he whom He made defenseless in exterior matters He armed all the better within. Namely, with reason and prudence, that by the intellect and vigor of mind by which he excelled the other animals, he might recognize the maker of all things. And he dominated the others, through that by which he re-wed the Lord. The Lord, nevertheless, wished him to be a follower voluntarily, not as coerced. And therefore He left him in the hands of his own council (Eccli. XV), and He placed before him life and death, good and evil.[58]

Thus the very ability to choose evil is part of that very free will which is our crowning glory. ". . . Even this itself by which we are also able to do evil, is good."[59] Therefore we are not to complain and question our intellectual powers and freedom of will, but see the goodness of God in it and all nature.

How else can we explain the many virtues of even the pagan philosophers, except it be from the good of nature? And how much more will we Christians be able to do, whose natural gifts are instructed by Christ and aided by divine gifts **(gratiae).**[60]

If you doubt the goodness of nature, look to the inner teacher of your own conscience. Why is it that we blush or turn pale at the thought of our own wrongdoings? Why must our crimes be done in secret, while we wish to publicize our good deeds? And why does the guilty suffer inner torment, while the innocent rests secure? And if your own conscience does not convince you of the powers of human nature, observe all those men between Adam and Moses who lived pure lives by nature, even before the coming of the law.[61] What of Abel, whose sacrifice was acceptable to God? Of Enoch, who was taken from the midst of mortality? Of Noah, who was called just in his generation? And there was Melchizedeck, Abraham, Lot, Isaac, and the virtuous Jacob.[62] And what of Job, that most famous athlete of God?

> O evangelical man before the Gospel and apostolic man before the apostolic precepts! Disciple of the apostles who uncovers the hidden riches of nature: and showing them forth publicly, he makes known from out of himself what we are all capable of. And he taught how great is that treasure of the soul, which we possess without using: and because we do not wish to bring it forth publicly, we do not believe we have it.[63]

And just as such freedom of will encourages the sincere soldiers of Christ, so also it destroys the excuse of the evil man, who wishes to take refuge in the necessity of nature. Scripture's examples are plentiful which show that men, while sharing the same nature, make differing choices, and therefore must have free will. And how much better ought we to be able to live than they, since we are, "expiated and cleansed by His blood, and incited by His example to perfect justice"?[64] It must be noted here that Pelagius insisted as strongly as Augustine ever did that we are justified by God in the sense that He bestows forgiveness of sins upon us. He also believed that this gift was bestowed through baptism. When he and his followers maintained that infants were not forgiven in the sacrament, it was not because they failed to believe that baptism forgives. It was rather that they believed that infants had no inherited sin to forgive. Augustine's own witness confirms this.[65]

The very fact that some have freely chosen the good, while others have disobeyed and need forgiveness is proof that man is responsible for his own actions. And since God is just, all men are held responsible for their deeds. They merit their rewards.[66]

36

Yet even though the human race came under the influence of the bad habit (consuetudo) of sinning by so many, the original natural good was not destroyed, but only defaced. To this encrusted good, God sent His law:

> To this nature, now buried in so many defects, coated by a kind of rust of ignorance, He applied the polish of the law, that by its frequent admonition it might be burnished, and that it might be able to return to its splendor.
>
> And indeed no other cause creates for us the difficulty of doing well than the prolonged habit of sins which encrusts us from childhood. And little by little it corrupts over many years and in this way it so holds to itself in the end debtors and bondsmen, that it appears somehow to possess the powers of nature.[67]

In these words to Demitrias, Pelagius is making two important points. First, no matter how bad human nature looks, it is still good at its core, though habit may have dimmed its luster.[68a] Neither Pelagius nor his followers would ever accept any idea of a basic corruption of God-given nature. Such a corruption would deprive man of responsibilities, and God of justice. It is precisely here that his difference from Augustine is widest.

Second, and dependent on the first, Pelagius believes that the exterior polish of law can erase the beclouding and benumbing external habit of sin. Thus the law, by its right instruction, can save. Nowhere does he show any real understanding of the agony implied in Paul's declaration that the law cannot save. This negative judgment, he believes, applies only to the ceremonial, not to the moral law.[68b] And when Paul cries out, "wretched man that I am!"; he must, says Pelagius, be speaking on behalf of someone else.[69] And the phrase "no one is just," is made to apply only in a limited situation.[70]

If the law is an improvement over nature, which had become encrusted but not destroyed by sin, so Christ, by His example is an improvement over the law. We have already seen that Pelagius insists on justification, or forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ and baptism. The theme of the redeeming blood of Christ recurs often in his works.[71] Often such instances are coupled with a second idea: that Christ offers Himself as **the** example of correct living. For instance, in commenting on Romans 5:10, he says, "If we are saved by the death of Christ, by how much more will we be glorified in this life, if we become His imitators?"[72] Sometimes the imitation theme stands alone.[73] When this occurs, two themes seem to stand forth as most important in Pelagius' mind.

First, our imitation of Christ is contrasted to our imitation of Adam. Just as Adam gave mankind the unfortunate example of disobedience to follow (and now it has become a habit with us), so Christ gives us a model which we likewise can follow to overcome that habit:

> Here (Paul) wishes to hold forth Christ crucified for this reason, that we who, following Adam have departed from God, through following Christ may be reconciled to God . . . Just as, when there was no sign, it came by Adam, so in the same way when justice resided in almost no one, it was recalled by Christ.[74]

Christ as exterior example in the most common Christological reference for Pelagius, and in fact is the core of his Christology. As we can see from the citation directly above, Jesus teaches us most clearly that obedience which has become obscured in nature, and is not always clearly seen in the law. Jesus seems to be a kind of "law Incarnate," a living commandment, who sums up the law in His very being. He offers a new life-style, which can become by our imitation, the basis for a new set of habits.[75]

The second theme which stands out in Pelagius' presentations of the imitation of Christ is this: our imitation is of His obedience. But obedience means humility, and humility involves self-giving and sacrificial love.[76] It is interesting to notice in this regard that Souter has compiled a list of the verses most often used by Pelagius in his commentaries on Paul's epistles. The verse cited most often (10 times) in the commentaries is Acts 5:41: ". . . rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name." The next most common verse (8 times) is Philippians 2:7 ". . . but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men."[77] So his two "favorite" verses concern the self-emptying of Christ, and the willingness of His followers to suffer. His insistence on renunciation is based on his Christology. It goes without saying that his stress must be on the similarity of Christ to the believer (sin excepted), if we are to be able to follow Him in obedience.

A very interesting feature of Pelagius' view of Jesus is that it so closely resembles that of the early Augustine! It may be somewhat more superficial, and it lacks some of the dimensions of Augustine's, but the main stresses are the same: Both see man as having an inner light from God Himself, from which, unfortunately, man has turned. Both believe that man now needs some exterior sign to make him return within. And both insist that Jesus is, in His teaching and example, **the** sign in which humble obedience overcomes self-centered pride.

Augustine delayed for some time any involvement against Pelagius and his followers, Caelestius and Julian of Eclanum. But when he did enter the lists, his opposition became an all consuming obsession which dominated the last 20 years of his life.[78] Why did he oppose it so vehemently? What was really at stake between them? After all, both the British reformer and the North African bishop were deeply and devoutly concerned about the cultivation of Christian piety. Pelagius believed as did Augustine in the cleansing power of baptism, as we have already seen. And Augustine was just as adamant as Pelagius in allowing the theoretical possibility that some men could have perfect lives,[79] and that salvation was merited.[80]

Then why the controversy? For Pelagius, it was crucially important that man is still basically good. Otherwise, how can he be held responsible for doing good? But Augustine was becoming more and more convinced over the years that human nature is **not** good. It is tainted, wounded, sick! There is something wrong with us at the core. Both men believed that the forgiven Christian must lead a pious life. But for Augustine, Pelagius' positive thinking was burdensome to man, and an insult to God's grace, when seen in light of the depth of human sin. This is what the Pelagian Controversy was really about. It was not primarily about how pious the Old Testament saints were, nor even about predestination. These were the issues that were debated, and are still debated today. But important as they are, they remain important side issues. The controversy was over how the Christian can lead the Christian life.

Over above Pelagius' optimism, Augustine will repeatedly stress the illness that we have inherited from Adam. He will remind Pelagius that the topic of grace concerns the cure, not the constitution of nature.[81] When the reformer points out to the bishop that the faculty of speech is given by God, but man's own will determines whether it will be used, he agrees, but responds that sometimes this faculty is injured.[82] By turning from God in Adam, man has brought this wound upon himself, now being unable to turn to Him.[83] We can still will, but can no longer will the good.[84] Even in his early period, as we have seen, Augustine insisted that sin brings in its train a certain concupiscence, or rebellion and disorder of the flesh. But now this illness is taken more seriously. Its roots are deeper, its effects more radical. The clearest sign of this inner disorientation is sexual lust. Not procreation itself, which is a good given by God, but the lust now involved in it.

> When the first man transgressed the law of God, he began to have another law in his members, which was repugnant to the law of his mind, and he felt the evil of his own disobedience when he experienced in the disobedience of his own flesh a most righteous retribution recoiling on himself . . . . For it certainly was not just that obedience should be rendered by his servant, i.e., his body, to him who had not obeyed his own Lord . . . when it must come to man's great function of the procreation of children, the members which were expressly created for this purpose will not obey the direction of the will, but lust has to be waited for to set these members in motion, as if it had legal right over them, and sometimes it refuses to act when the mind wills, while often it acts against its will.[85]

Since all human activity is now necessarily accompanied by the disorder of lust, procreative activity now inevitably is also the conveyer of this disorder. That **all** men must of necessity inherit original sin is, of course, central to his whole position.

> . . . I plainly aver that it is by reason of the transgression (of Adam) that they are in the devil's power, and that their participation, moreover, in this transgression is due to the circumstances that they are born of the said union of the sexes, which cannot even accomplish its own honorable function without the incident of shameful lust.[86]

Thus man is afflicted with a double woe. His will is wrongly oriented, and even if set right, it will still be distracted and weakened by the disobedient flesh.[87]

This new stress in Augustine's anthropology could not help but bring about a shift in his Christology. A man who suffers an inner hereditary disease does not need a teacher or an exterior example. He needs a doctor, who heals within. So it is not surprising that along with his greater emphasis on original sin, there now emerges a new picture of Christ, which first accompanies, and then replaces "Jesus the example." The new picture is Christ the physician.[88]

In his first major work against the Pelagians, *On Merits and the Forgiveness of Sins,* there occurs a passage which sums up almost everything that he will say about this matter in the coming years:

> No doubt they all imitate Adam who by disobedience transgress the commandments of God: but he is one thing as an example to those who sin because they choose; another thing as the progenitor of all who are born in sin. All His saints also imitate Christ in the pursuit of righteousness. . . . But besides this imitation His grace works within us our illumination and justification. . . . For by this grace He engrafts into His body even baptized infants, who certainly have not yet become able to imitate anyone. And therefore, He, in whom all are made alive, besides offering Himself as an example of righteousness to those who imitate Him, gives also to those who believe on Him the hidden grace of His spirit, which he secretly infuses even into infants; so likewise He, in whom all die, besides being an example for imitation to those who willfully transgress the comments of the Lord, depraved also in his own person all who came of his stock by the hidden corruption of his own carnal concupiscence.[89]

In both Pelagius and the early Augustine there had been a nice parallel between the imitation of Adam and the imitation of Christ. But now, since Augustine insists that our nature is subjected to a corruption inherited from Adam, he must see Adam as more than an example of evil, he is our **progenitor** in evil. So likewise Christ is no longer primarily our example of good, he is our **regenerator** in good. Again and again Augustine insists that since we are carnally born in Adam, we must be spiritually reborn in Christ.[90] This is often contrasted to the idea of imitation.[91] In fact he berates Pelagius' idea of imitation as a denial of grace, and rendering the cross to no effect.[92] The inner more-and-more replaces the outer. In fact, in commenting on why Jesus had to leave before the Holy Spirit could come he says:

> For this was in fact saying that you shall not be able to

> have righteousness by faith, which you shall have as a gift of mine, i.e., from the Holy Spirit, unless I withdraw from your eyes that which you now gaze upon in order that your heart may advance in spiritual growth by fixing its faith on invisible things.[93]

The human Jesus is in fact disappearing behind the Divine Physician. The important thing is no longer the exterior lesson, but the interior healing. Not that we may simply see what is good, but that we may love what we see. Not only that we might know the law, but that we might delight in it. This love can only be the Holy Spirit, by which the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts.[94] This love dominates us only to free us. It operates upon us to heal us, and then co-operates with us as we are being healed. When God rewards its merits, He is crowning His own gifts.[95]

Christianity is now not only what we do, but also what is done for us. From this viewpoint, Christ must be seen more and more in His union with the Divine, i.e., in His **difference** from us. The precise mechanics by which He heals us, i.e., by which he gains the Holy Spirit for us, appear to be complex and rich in Augustine's mind. He unites us in His body the Church; He frees us from our debt to Satan; He washes our sins.[96] But at least one thing is clear. He was able to accomplish this only because He was absolutely sinless. Furthermore, this sinlessness is the result of His unique birth from a virgin—totally other than our generation through sex with lust. He was conceived by the Holy Spirit: we must be revived by the Holy Spirit. The manner of His birth must be the manner of our rebirth.[97] Of course in all this there is a parallel between Christ and the believer. In fact, the man Jesus is taken as the prime example of unmerited grace.[98] Yet the stress is still on the difference. Christ's ignorance was feigned, there was no possible way for Him to fall, He is utterly exhalted above all his members.[99]

Just as we are so sick that we cannot be healed without the initiative of God, so the man Jesus would not have been taken up into the unity of the Word without grace preceding. Thus, while Pelagius, with his intentioned moralism leads us to a graceless Christianity where ailing man is led (after proper instruction) to heal himself, for Augustine, we are left with Jesus who is no longer our example in any important way, except as example of the total dominance of God. Augustine does not mean to go this far, and wants to assert grace **operans et cooperans,** but the logic of his position will not allow him to stop short of it any more than his logic will allow him to stop short of predestination.

In the East at this time, the Church was involved in the Christological debates which issued in the Confessions of Chalcedon. There they made the affirmation about Christ—important also for the doctrine of piety—that He is never either/or, but always both/and, two natures in one person. The Council of Constantinople in 680 A.D. would affirm that in Christ there are two wills, with the human always following the divine. It would seem that by beginning with Christology, the Greeks found a formula which could also be applied to piety, the Pelagian Controversy ended with results that were unsatisfactory both for the understanding of Jesus and of ourselves.

It is now easy to see how the roots of the Adoptionist Controversy are to be found in Augustine.

In his early writings, Augustine, like Pelagius, stressed Christ as a model for the Christian life, and thus also stressed the likeness of His nature to ours, and its distinction from the Divine. But later, in the Pelagian Controversy, he stressed Christ, the healer and bestower of grace. Therefore the dominant idea became His unique exaltation in union with the Word, and His unique human generation. It is this later view which would reign victorious on the Carolingian Empire of the 9th Century. The older Augustine would defeat his younger self.

FOOTNOTES

[1] A rather full treatment of the historical details of the controversy may be found in E. Amann, "L'époque cardgienne," in: Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'église* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1934).

[2] Even today, the best extant survey treatment of the debate is J. A. Dorner, *History of the Developement of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, trans. D. W. Simon (Edenburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1865), Div. II, Vd. I. Another generally reliable treatment is in Adolf von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenscaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1910 (1964) Vol. III, pp. 275-290.

[3] Particularly Dorner, *History* . . . p. 205, 220-27. Harnack, while admitting Augustinian roots in the doctrines of Felix and Elipandus, believes that these roots are given a decidedly "Nestorian" slant. *Lehrbuch* . . . , p. 278-81.

[4] Justo Gonzales, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971) Vol. II, p. 107. For a thorough treatment of the effects of historical political developments in Spain as they affect this debate, see Wilhelm Heil, "Der Adoptianismus, Alkuin und Spanien." in Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk un Nachleben* (Dusseldorf, 1965) Vd. II, pp. 95-155.

[5] Knut Schaferdiek, "Der adoptianische Streit im Rahmen der spanischen Kirchengeschichte I." *Zeitschrift fur Kirchergeschichte*, 80, II 3, (1969), p. 291-311.

[6] *De beata vita. P. L.* 32. 970f.

[7] *De beata vita* IV, 23-33; *P. L.* 32, 970-75.

[8] *De mor. Eccl. Cath.* I, 3, 4. *P. L.* 32, 1312.

[9] *Ep.* XVII, 2; *P. L.* 33, 85.

[10] *De musica,* VI, 5, 9; *P. L.* 32, 1168.

[11] *De musica,* VI, 5, 13; *P. L.* 32, 1170.

[12] *De musica,* VI, 4, 7; *P. L.* 32, 1166-7.

[13] *De Gen. c. Man.* II, 4; 5, *P. L.* 34, 198.

[14] *Ibid.,* II, 5, 6; *P. L.* 34, 199.

[15] A helpful treatment of the effect of the fall on knowledge according to Augustine is found on Ulrch Duchrow, "Signum und Superbia beim jungen Augustin (386-90)," *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* VII (1961), pp. 369-72.

[16] For a fuller account of language in the early Augustine—an account on which this section of the present paper is based, see my article "Verbum in the early Augustine" (386-397), *Recherches Augustiniennes,* Vol. 8, 1972, p. 25-53.

[17] *Prin. dial.* V; *P. L.* 32, 1410, *De quant. anim.* XXXII, 65; *P. L.* 32, 1071-73.

[18] *De mag.,* VIII, *P. L.* 32, 1215.

[19] *Ibid.,* XI, 38; *P. L.* 32, 1216.

[20] The most important modern treatments of Augustine's Christology are Otto Scheel, *Die Anschauung Augustins uber Christi Person und Werk* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901) and T. J. Van Bavel, *Recherches sur la Christologie de Saint Augustin* (Fibourg: Edition Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1954).

[21] *c. Aca.* III, 19, 42; *P. L.* 32 956 Cf. *de Ord.* II, 9, 26-7; *P. L.* 32, 1007-8.

[22] *De mus.,* VI, IV, 7; *P. L.* 32, 1166-67.

[23] *De div. quaest* LXXXIII, 62; *P. L.* 40, 54.

[24] *De doct Christ.* I, 11, 12; *P. L.* 34, 23.

[25] *De doct Christ.* I, 13; *P. L.* 34, 24.

[26] *Expos. ad Gal.* 24; *P. L.* 35, 2121-23.

[27] *Enarr. in Ps.* 8, 2; *P. L.* 36, 109-10. Here Augustine compares God's Word to a grape being processed in the winepress. The husk is left behind, while the pulp is not.

[28] On this point see Harnack, *Lehrbuch . . .* p. 130.

[29] *De Gen. c. Man.* II, 24, 37; *P. L.* 34, 215.

[30] *De lib. arb.* III, 10, 30; *P. L.* 32, 1286.

[31] *De mus.* VI, 4, 7; *P. L.* 32, 1166-67.

[32] *De doct. Christ.* I, 11, 11; *P. L.* 34, 23; *de quant. anim.* XXXIII, 76; *P. L.* 32, 1066-7; *de lib. arb.* III, 10, 30; *P. L.* 32, 1286; *de div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 43; *P. L.* 40, 28.

[33] Ep. 18, 2; *P. L.* 33, 85-86.

[34] *De doct. Christ.* I, 11, 12; *P. L.* 34, 23; *de div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 42, P. L. 40, 27; 73, 2; *P. L.* 40, 85; *de Gen. c. Man.* II, 24, 37; *P. L.* 34, 215.

[35] Prof. William Babcock, is an important, but unfortunately unpublished paper, has shown that already in this early period, Augustine was coming to the conclusion that man was in need of an inner help. Babcock: *The Authority of Romans in the Early Augustine,* 1975. At any rate this does not bring about important christological consequences until later in his career.

[36] *Ep. ad Rom. inc.* 4; *P. L.* 35, 2090.

[37] *Enarr. in Ps.* IX, 35; *P. L.* 36, 130-31.

[38] *Expos.* LXXXIV; *P. L.* 35, 2077.

[39] *Enarr. in Ps.* XX, 2; *P. L.* 36, 165.

[40] Van Bavel, *Recherches . . .,* pp. 6, 21-5, 37-40, 178.

[41] *Enarr. in Ps.* 3, 3; *P. L.* 36, 73-4.

[42] *Ep.* XiV, 3; *P. L.* 33, 80.

[43] *Enarr. in Ps.* 27, 2; *P. L.* 36, 211.

[44] *De Trin.* IV, XXI, 30, *P. L.* 42, 909; *Ep.* 169, II, 7; *P. L.* 33, 745; *Ep.* 137, III, 12; *P. L.* 33, 520-521.

[45] *De vera rel.* 50, 98; *P. L.* 34, 165.

[46] *De serm. Dom.* I, I, 2; *P. L.* 34, 1231.

[47] *De Gen. c. Man.* II, XXIV, 37; *P. L.* 34, 215.

[48] *Enarr. in Ps.* 3, 9; *P. L.* 36, 77.

[49] Against Van Bavel, *Recherches . . .,* pp. 79-82.

[50] *De agone* XX, 22; *P. L.* 40, 301-2.

[51] This description is based on the introductory chapter of one of the best works on Pelagius in English, John Ferguson, *Pelagius: A Historical and Theological*

Study (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1956) pp. 1-38. But the classic in the field is still Georges De Plinval, *Pelage: ses écrits, sa vie, et sa réforme* (Lausanne: *Librairie Payot*, 1943). See also G. F. Wiggers, *Augustinism and Pelagianism*, trans with notes by Rev. Ralph Emerson (N. Y.: Gould, Newman and Saxon, 1840).

[52] See Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957).

[53] Speculations about Pelagius' early life, background, and stay at home are almost endless and sometimes far-fetched. Yet the basic facts and orientation of his life are fairly clear. See Ferguson, *Pelagius* . . . , pp. 39-48, and Plinval, *Pelage* . . . , Ch. II.

[54] Textual problems in regard to the works of Pelagius are severe. First, some of his most important works, e.g., *On Nature*, come to us only in excerpts given by his worst enemies. Second, many of his works, e.g., *On Free Will*, are lost, while some others have become corrupted and associated with other authors. Some have come to us under the name of Jerome! Plinval, *Pelage* . . . pp. 17-47. The manuscript of his commentary on Paul's epistles was so hopelessly corrupt as to be unusable until restored by the brilliant work of Alexander Souter, "Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul." *Texts and Studies*, J. A. Robinson, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press). Vol. IX, 1922.

[55] Ferguson, *Pelagius* . . . pp. 39-47; Plinval, *Pelage* . . . , 47-55.

[56] Peter Brown, *Augustine* . . . , p. 342.

[57] *Ad. Dem.* II; *P. L.* 30, 16.

[58] *Ibid. P. L.* 30, 17.

[59] *Ibid. P. L.* 30, 18.

[60] *Ibid.* III; *P. L.* 30, 18.

[61] *Ibid.* IV; *P. L.* 30, 19.

[62] *Ibid.* V; *P. L.* 30, 19-21.

[63] *Ibid.* VI, *P. L.* 30, 22.

[64] *Ibid.* VII, *P. L.* 30, 22-23.

[65] *De grat. Christ.* II, 2. *P. L.* 44, 360-61; *Depeccato orig.* II, 2; *P. L.* 44, 386.

[66] *Ad. Dem.* VIII, IX; *P. L.* 30, 23-25; *Exp. Rom.* 8:11, 17; *Souter*, 63-64.

[67] *Ibid.* IX, *P. L.* 30, 23.

[68a] The sin dwelling in Paul is "accidental," merely "habit." *Exp. Rom.* 7:17-24; *Souter*,, 58-60.

[68b] *Expos. Rom.* 3:20, *Souter*, p. 32.

[69] *Expos. Rom.* 7:24; *Souter*, p. 60. Pelegius is here following the accepted tradition of his day.

[70] *Ibid*, p. 29-30.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 10, 32, 44, 47.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 44-5.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 45. Cf. p. 46, 48.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 32, 62.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 72, 43.

[77] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 74-5.

[78] See especially, Brown, *Augustine* . . . , chs. 29-33.

[79] *De Sp. et lit.* V, 7; *P. L.* 44, 204.

[80] *De grat. et Lib arb.* VII, 18, *P. L.* 44, 892; *De Perf.* VIII, 17; *P. L.* 44, 299.

[81] *De nat. et grat.* 12, *P. L.* 44, 252.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[83] *De nup. et conc.* II, 15; *P. L.* 44, 444.

[84] *C. duas epist.* III, 9; *P. L.* 44, 593.

[85] *De nup. et conc.* I, 7; *P. L.* 44. 417.

[86] *Ibid.*, II, 15. p. 444.

[87] *De pecc. mer.* I; 21, 70, 33; *P. L.* 44: 120, 150, 166; *de nat et grat.* 81, *P. L.* 44. 287; *c. duas epist.* I. 27; *P. L.* 44: 563.

[88] For a worthwhile discussion of the "medical" theme in Augustine's theology as it relates to humility, see R. Arbesmann, "Christ, the *medicus, humilus* in St. Augustine." *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes), 1954, Vol. II, pp. 623-29.

De pecc. mer. I: 23; *P. L.* 44, 121; *de nat et grat.* 3, 23, 25, 29; *P. L.* 44. 249, 259, 261.

[89] *De pecc. mer.* I: 10; *P. L.* 44, 114-115.

[90] *De pecc. mer.* II, 43; *P. L.* 44, 177; *de nat et grat.* 25; *P. L.* 44. 259; *de nup et conc.* I, 27, II, 35; *P. L.* 44. 429, 458; *c. duas epist.* II, 9; *P. L.* 44. 577.

[91] *De pecc. mer.* I, 19; *P. L.* 44, 119; *de grat. et lib. arb.* 27; *P. L.* 44. 897.

[92] *De grat. Chr.* I: 43, 45. *P. L.* 44. 389, 80.

[93] *De pecc. mer.* II, 52; *P. L.* 44, 182. *Cf. de doct. Christ.* I, 34, 38. *P. L.* 34, 33.

[94] *De Sp. et lit.* 5, 6, 56; *P. L.* 44. 203, 236; *de grat. Chr.* I, 11, 13. *P. L.* 44. 265, 267.

[95] *De pecc. mer.* II, 6, 7; *P. L.* 44. 154-5; *d enat et grat.* 35; *P. L.* 44. 263; *de gest. Pel.* 35; *P. L.* 44. 341.

[96] *De pecc mer.* I, 33, 39, 60, 63. *P. L.* 44. 128, 131, 144, 146.

[97] *De pecc. mer.* I, 57, II, 43; *P. L.* 44. 144, 177.

[98] *De pecc. mer.* II, 27. *P. L.* 44. 168; *de praed. sanct.*, 30, 31; *P. L.* 44. 98-983.

[99] *De pecc. mer.* I, 56, II, 38, 44; *P. L.* 44. 141, 174, 177, *de grat. et lib arb.* 30; *P. L.* 44. 898.

DOMINANCE OF LOVE IN RACINE'S TRAGEDIES

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I

The classical age of French literature is considered to be the seventeenth century. Writers of this period experienced the necessity for discipline, for correcting the impetuous extravagances of their predecessors and for raising art above personal eccentricities. As a result of this desire, the writers infused into literature a new spirit, which had a direct bearing on the French theater.

French dramatic history in the seventeenth century parallels the history of French politics. Under the strict control successively of Richelieu and Mazarin, the Cornelian tragedy appeared. When the success of French arms was temporarily neutralized by the Fronde, the drama suffered. When domestic peace was regained, the drama began to revive, reaching the summit of its achievement by means of the ardent support of Louis XIV. It was during this period of great literary achievement that Racine, the illustrious author with whom this study is concerned, lived and wrote.

Paris, up to 1661, was the capital of classicism. Practically all eminent men of letters were gathered together at court or in literary circles in Paris and wrote for an elite, a chosen public around them. This concentration in a brilliant capital of an enlightened and aristocratic public fostered the development of talents as varied in their essence as in their expression. Thus it happened that the classical ideal of the seventeenth century found its perfect expression in tragedy and in comedy. To the great works representative of their epoch, the masterpieces of Corneille, Moliére, and Racine, the epithet "classic" has been given.

The words "classic" and "classical" are used in various ways. According to C. H. C. Wright:

> These words at times relate specifically to the Greeks and Romans, as when we call Virgil a classical author; at times they refer to the best periods of any literature and the authors of those periods, as we term Shake-

> speare an English classic; at times again, they mean something based upon the best, or what is thought to be the best, as when we speak of the classic style of Addison.[1]

Wright later concludes that the foundation of true classicism is:

> A sane and clear-sighted intellect, linked with an inborn or trained taste, seeking the inspiration of great masters of past literature who have themselves tried to interpret the universal laws of nature.[2]

Classicism, according to Seronde and Peyre and other authors who have written on the subject, is a desire for conformity, unity, and order as opposed to the excessive individualism of the preceding centuries. It may then be concluded, therefore, that classicism implies simplicity, order, and balance and is based on the models of Greece and Rome.

The love of antiquity and of its literature had already shown itself at different periods in French literature before the Renaissance of the sixteenth century. The cult had been based on, however, a misunderstood antiquity and not on its best period or manifestations. In discussing the subject of French classicism, it seems perhaps sufficient to go no further back than the Renaissance and to speak of the work of Ronsard, and Du Bellay, and of the theories of the **Pléiade.**

The French Renaissance may be defined as the period of human history which began as a rebirth of interest in classical (Greek and Roman) literature, art, and learning. This period developed a new spirit of questioning and experimentation in literature, art, science, and commerce.

The most obvious manifestations of the new spirit are readily discernible in the declining prestige of the church, the disintegration of the feudal system, the rise of patriotic nationalism and a greater diffusion of knowledge. Spurred by the desire for preeminence and a new appreciation for earthly gain, the men of the Renaissance began to explore the secular world. In one direction, physical exploration in search of new routes to the Indies broadened the compass of the physical world. In another direction, scholars made persistent efforts to revive and compile the works of ancient Greece and Rome. The latter resulted into the development of humanism which largely dominated the sixteenth century literature.

Before the Renaissance, knowledge of the literature of ancient Greece and Rome based on imagination, had been inexact and inaccurate. Now, from a humanistic point of view, this literature was seen at a closer range and with a truer knowledge of its best elements.

The first organized attempt to establish a classical literary school in France was the work of a group of talented young poets led by Pierre de Ronsard. This group, which took the name of **Pléiade,** was desirous of reviving the literary forms of the ancients and of creating new forms. The manifesto of the new school appeared in the *Defense et illustration de la langue française* by Du Bellay. In his discussion of the ambitious plans of the young poets, he defends French as a literary language against the Humanists who were neglecting it in favor of Latin; he indicates how French may be ennobled so as to be worthy of a place beside Greek and Latin. This was to be accomplished first by the formation of a real poetic diction different from that of Prose, and secondly by the substitution of classical verse forms for the older medieval forms of French Poetry.

The principal aims of the Pléiade were: (1) to write under the inspiration of the masterpieces of classical antiquity, without, however, losing the originality of the poet, (2) to treat themes in a general rather than a personal manner, and (3) to follow the dictates of the intellect rather than those of the emotions. The language was to be deliberately formed by a selection of French words which must avoid extreme colloquialism. By such conscious selectivity and combination of a new language with classic modes, an official distinguished diction and style would be created to vie with the literary language of Greece and of Rome. Such is the doctrine of assimilation which is at the foundation of the language of French classicism.

At the end of the sixteenth century, French thought underwent various transformations. Because of changed social, political and religious conditions, the classicism of the sixteenth century was threatened with extinction. There was a period of chaos and a gradual formation of a new environment for seventeenth century classicism, an epoch of order, conformity, and unity.

Seventeenth century classicism was a movement characterized by both an extension of the Renaissance and a reaction to it. The movement retained from the Renaissance the desire to copy and imitate the Latin and Greek classicists. There was, however, a rejection of the extreme individualism into which the

Renaissance had allowed itself to be engulfed; to study man in general, to explain the motives which cause him to act, such were the aims of the writers of the seventeenth century.

There were many influencing factors in the environment in which seventeenth century classicism took form. Only one or two more dominating influences will be mentioned here. Political factors were important in molding French classicism. Louis XIV, who reigned from 1643 to 1715, had much to do with the conscious realization of French genius in his time. He gave employment to the best architects and artists of the time, and was the personal patron of some of the writers. The influence of Richelieu is perhaps greatest with the establishment in 1635 of *L'Academie française.* Originally an informal gathering of friends, the Academy was, by Richelieu's efforts, transformed into a court which, under his patronage, asserted control over the language and by such documents as the *Sentiments sur le Cid,* helped to mold the French classical drama. There were other less formal reunions similar in nature to that of the Academy. Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet, decided to make her own *Hôtel de Rambouillet* a center of real culture. Through her efforts "la Préciosite," a social and literary movement soon developed; the essence of such movement was distinction. The influence which "la Préciosite" exercised on the development of French letters was beneficial. Writers learned to cultivate a taste for psychological analysis, a trait so characteristic of classical literature.

The tragedy of the seventeenth century is perhaps the genre which best defines the classical spirit of this epoch. The origin of the French theater can be traced back to the mysteries and miracle plays which were born in the shadow of the church of the Middle Ages. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, certain poets had tried to write tragedies, worthy of the Greek tragedies and different from the mysteries and miracle plays of the Middle Ages. It was not, however, until the seventeenth century that the creator of the classical tragedy appeared.

The true founding of modern French tragedy in 1636-1637, after the presentation of the *Cid* of Corneille, was preceded by a long formative period, going back to 1552, the date of *Cleopatre* of Jodelle. There were other dramatists before the time of Corneille whose works contributed to the progress of dramatic art. Corneille produced his trilogy of masterpieces, Horace, Cinna, and Polyeucte, which won great honor and acclaim for him. But his "gloire" began to dissipate with old age. This decline was embittered by the transfer of his popularity to a younger rival, Racine, whose life and theatrical debut will be treated in the following section.

II

In order to obtain a true understanding of Racine and his works, it is necessary to view some of the most essential facts of his life and his surroundings in their various aspects. The biographies of Racine are based largely on his correspondences of about two hundred letters, mainly written by him. A few of these letters were, however, written by such correspondents as Boileau, La Fontaine, Vauban and others. According to most authorities, these letters were distributed evenly over the period from 1656 to 1665. Then there is not a single letter until 1676, which means that the flourishing career of Racine as a dramatist is, in correspondence, a blank. There is one letter for 1676 and one for 1678, then nothing until 1681. From 1681 to 1699, the year of his death, there are one hundred and fifty-three letters for this period. The secondary sources for the biography of Racine include some letter-writers of his age and the *Memoires sur la vie de Jean Racine* by his younger son, Louis.

Because of the inconsistencies of the details of the life of Racine, the writer feels that a discussion of his life only as it may reveal the genesis and meaning of his works is necessary. The writer has therefore divided Racine's life into four major periods. These periods are (1) 1639, year of his birth, to 1661, the year of his departure from Port Royal, (2) 1661 to 1663, his sojourn in Uzes, (3) 1663 to 1677, the beginning and abandonment of his dramatic career, and (4) 1677 to 1699, his post as historiographer of Louis XIV and his reconciliation with Port Royal.

Jean Racine, the eldest of two children, was born near Soissons at La Ferte-Milon on December 22, 1639. He belonged to a family of the upper bourgeoisie. His mother was Jean Sconin. His father, of the same name as Racine, seemed to have been a solicitor by profession and held the office of **contrôleur au grenier a sel.** The father of Racine was the son of still another Jean Racine and of Marie Desmoulins. The Desmoulins were ardent Jansenists and they seemed to have influenced all who came in contact with them.

Racine's mother died when he was little more than a year old and his father married again but died shortly afterwards. Left without provisions, Racine and his sister were taken into the home of their grandparents. When Racine was about ten years old he was sent by his grandmother to the College de Beauvais (a grammar school of the town of that name). He entered Port Royal at the age of fifteen or sixteen to continue his studies. It was perhaps at Port Royal that the character of Racine began to take a particular form, and the experiences there, no doubt, left ineffaceable impressions on his memory.

Port Royal was the celebrated center of Jansenism where learned scholars, called **solitaires,** lived an austere life of meditation. As a pupil at Port Royal, Racine was strongly influenced by Jansenism. He became equally proficient in acquiring the severe religious precepts of his Jansenist teachers and in reading the Holy Scriptures, and also the masterpieces of pagan literature. He read the Bible, Saint Augustine, Virgil, and especially Greek tragedies. He learned verbatim the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides.

One is able to see the influence of the Jansenist doctrine in the tragedies of Racine. Racine has no faith in the power of the will. Man can be saved from his sinful impulses only by the intervention of divine grace. Phèdre, being the victim of the gods, that is, of her heredity, struggles in vain against her guilty passions of illicit love. The famous line of Phèdre, "C'est Venus tout entière a sa proie attachée," expresses rather aptly the essential character of the Racinian tragedy. Pessimism is therefore a basic trait of all the tragedies of Racine since most of his heroes and heroines are doomed in advance to be vanquished. Here again is shown the influence of the Jansenist doctrine of predestination.

In reference to Port Royal, A. D. B. Clark states that:

> The combination of an extremely austere moral tone and an ill-concealed love of humane letters is the distinguishing mark of Port Royal's education, and the paradox went deep into Racine's nature.[3]

In 1661 Racine left Port Royal and went to Paris. He finished his studies at the College d'Harcourt. He wrote verse, frequented the theater and became acquainted with prominent men of letters, especially La Fontaine and Molière. He believed that literature was his true vocation. This interest in literature was by no means propitious in the opinion of his relatives and his friends at Port Royal; they looked upon his literary interest as contradictory to the Jansenist teachings.

Racine had become a favorite at the court of Louis XIV. He composed several odes in honor of the King. This acquaintance with the King was perhaps the first step to the literary success and fame. At the same time he was making some tentative moves toward his ultimate goal in the theater. These early dramatic attempts brought Racine in direct contact with the theater. The actors and especially the actresses thus appeared early in his life. He was encouraged to write his first two plays, *Amasie* and *Les Amours d'Ovide*. The first play was finished in 1660 but it was rejected by the actors of the *Marais*, and it is not certain that the second play was ever finished.

Racine was soon induced by his uncle the Père Sconin to make a sojourn in Uzes in an attempt to turn him away from his life of pleasure and to rid him of the desire to write for the stage. Racine remained in Uzes for three years and by the end of 1663 he had returned to Paris. He then composed two other odes; one on the recovery of Louis XIV from a slight illness which probably secured for him the promise of a pension; in his second ode he thanked the King for his presents. Through the latter he is said to have been introduced to Boileau of whom he later became a disciple. Racine respected and followed the advice of Boileau, a critic of poets of his period.

Unfortunately, upon his return to Paris, the correspondence of Racine ceases and his life becomes simply the history of his plays extending over the period from 1663 to 1667. The first two plays by which Racine is known are *La Thebaide* and *Alexandre* (1664-1665); both were fairly well constructed but revealed the inexperience of the author. These plays were produced by Moliere and his troupe, who were partially responsible for procuring Racine his first public successes. The series of his dramatic triumphs began with his first masterpiece *Andromaque* and ended with the last and most unfortunate, *Phèdre*. With *Andromaque* (1667) he is considered the greatest dramatic poet of his age. For the next ten years he composed a series of tragic masterpieces which are the glory of the French stage: *Britannicus* (1669), *Bérénice* (1670), *Bajazet* (1672), *Mithridate* (1673), *Iphigenie en Aulide* (1674), and *Phèdre* (1677). After *Phèdre* Racine abandoned the theater, and returned twelve years later at the request of Madame de Maintenon to write the biblical tragedies, *Esther* and *Athalie*, for the young women at Saint-Cyr (the school of Madame de Maintenon).

Racine had been, during his early manhood, a libertine in morals and in religion; he, now married, settled down to a quiet domestic lfie. He reconciled himself with Port Royal and was made historiographer of the court of Louis XIV. He died on April 21, 1699. He is, however, remembered for the outstanding traits of his tragedies; the simplicity of construction, the violence and tenderness of sentiments; the great delicacy and sensitiveness of the painting of passion; and the harmony of his verse. This aspect of the Racinian tragedy will be discussed in section III.

III

It has been pointed out in the preceding section that the dramatic success of Racine began with his tragedy *Andromaque.* He took the dramatic form which had been established by Corneille and made it his greatest instrument for writing. Unlike Corneille, however, he was more subtle in his preparations and made his drama unfold with a seeming naturalness and simplicity. He accepted without discussion the unities, the classical alexandrine, the five acts, and the noble characters. He chose his subjects from ancient history, but preferred Greece to Rome. For his last two tragedies, *Esther* and *Athalie,* his source of inspiration came from the Bible.

The presuppositions of Racine as to the nature and signification of drama and its forms are found in the prefaces to his individual works, especially that of Bérénice. In order then to obtain an accurate knowledge of the basic traits of the theater of Racine, it seems only natural to rely on the prefaces written by the author himself.

In the preface to Bérénice, Racine states that the aim of dramatic art is to give pleasure as well as incite the emotions. He choose his subject for the sake of the violent emotional crisis it contained, revealing realistic psychological analysis of human character: the jealous Hermione, the scheming Agrippine, and the criminal Phèdre. Racine does not strive to evoke admiration of superhuman heroes as did Corneille; he only attempts to incite pity because his heroes are all hopeless victims of love.

Love, which is the most touching and the most tragic of all passions, is the principal theme of the tragedies of Racine. Andromaque must remain faithful to the memory of her husband, Hector, either by repulsing Pyrrhus or by sacrificing her son; the soul of Phèdre is disorganized by a "passion illegitime" for her stepson, Hippolyte; Hermione, possessed of jealousy, and Oreste, driven by fate, are each responsible for the other's fate-suicide and insanity.

Racine then develops the idea that pleasure can be given only by "vraisemblance." It is not likely, he says, that a crowd of varied actions could be naturally compressed within the compass of a single drama. He was thus impelled to believe that great breadth and variety of action are incompatible with the unities.

Racine has simplified the action within his tragedies by modifying an original story and by banishing all supernatural elements. He focuses attention on one or two of his characters which results in an inner conflict. This inner conflict may be well illustrated by the decisions that stem from a complex involvement of certain characters in *Andromaque*. Andromaque has to make a decision either to guard the memory of her husband or to sacrifice her son; everything depends on her answer to Pyrrhus who wishes to marry her. Hermione's fate depends on Pyrrhus, the fate of Oreste depends on Hermione, and bound to Oreste is the faithful Pylade. Here one detects the absence of carnage on the stage, only sentiments and passions.

The simplicity of action which Racine has so well mastered facilitates his observance of the three unities as established by Aristotle. His plots reveal a single crisis so that the action is concentrated and brief, and the unities of time and of place present no obstacles. This does not mean, however, that the Racinian tragedy is void of action. Racine attempts to effect an action which is personal and original; his theory of invention was "faire quelque chose de rien." His point of departure was in an "état d'âme" of some character or characters. At the beginning of his tragedies, his principal characters have already reached a certain peak, prior to the rising of the curtains, thus creating a situation which demands immediate decisions. The action then moves swiftly toward an inevitable denouement which in the case of the characters of Racine is murder, suicide or insanity.

The Racinian tragedies are concerned with a psychological realism which was characteristic of his epoch. La Bruyère states in *Les Caractères* (Des Oeuvres de l'esprit); "Corneille est plus moral, Racine plus naturel."[4] This naturalness which reveals itself in relation to what is common to humanity tends not only to show simplicity, but to show definite artistic form in expression. Racine is thus regarded by French critics as the epitome of perfection of the classical poetical style. His poetic art reveals the same qualities that distinguish him as a dramatist: simplicity, naturalness, and concentration. In his two sacred tragedies, *Esther* and *Athalie,* Racine uses a different approach from that of his previous tragedies. Instead of a tragedy in which tormented souls are prevalent, he develops an idyllic drama. He revives the chorus through which lyricism is attained throughout the two tragedies.

Racine has depicted in his tragedies passionate beings, especially women. His theater is therefore essentially feminine. For instance, in *Phèdre,* as compared to the original story, critics have pointed out that Hippolyte has become a secondary figure which allows all attention to be focused on Phèdre. The violent, unrestrained or the modest and sensitive heroines of Racine are without the strong will of those of Corneille. Basically responsible for the destruction of other characters, they themselves become victims of their passions. In Racine we see a great dramatist, a great poet, and a great psychologist. He, as a psychologist, has analyzed pagan and Christian characters. To analyze generally the pagan and Christian characters was not however the ultimate aim of Racine. He has placed them in particular situations and from this point he involves them in various dilemmas.

In the following section, there will be a psychological study of these characters in an attempt to point out, compare, and contrast the origin, the development and the results of the motives which move them to action, stressing in particular, love and its dominance as events begin to unfold in Racine's tragedies.

IV

In this section, an attempt will be made to study the heroines as they reveal themselves in action: their evolution, their motives, and the secret recesses of their minds. *Andromaque,* inspired by Greek legends, was first performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. The tragedy begins with an allusion to past events in the conversation of Oreste and Pylade.

After the Trojan War, Andromaque and her son, Astyanax, were taken as captives of Pyrrhus, King of Epire. Hector, gallant Trojan and husband of Andromaque, had fallen at the hands of Achilles, father of Pyrrhus. As a result of the war and the death of Hector, Astyanax, the legitimate heir to the rights of his father, becomes a dreaded foe of the Greeks. Possessed of this fear, they sent Oreste to Epire as ambassador to claim Astyanax from Pyrrhus. This mission also enables Oreste to see again Hermione with whom he is in love. Hermione is however, the betrothed of Pyrrhus, who is in love with Andromaque. Pyrrhus, who at first refuses to surrender Astyanax, is angered by Andromaque's refusal of him. He, therefore, decides to marry Hermione instead, and surrender Astyanax to Oreste. Whereupon, Andromaque agrees to marry Pyrrhus in return for his promise to protect her son. She intends to commit suicide immediately after the marriage. The marriage takes place and Oreste, urged on by the jealous Hermione, orders his soldiers to murder Pyrrhus. Hermione commits suicide at the altar by her dead betrothed's side, and Oreste is driven to insanity. Andromaque and her son survive.

One notes from the resume of the tragedy that an unrequited love is felt by Oreste for Hermione, Hermione for Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus for Andromaque, on whom depends the course of events in the tragedy. As Andromaque reflects on past events, one is able to see the origin of the motive which actuates her when she says "Ought I to forget Hector deprived of burial and in hate/ Dragged shamefully around our walls?/See Pyrrhus bursting, with fierce eyes alight,/Into the glare our burning palace shed,/ Trampling upon the forms of all my dead Brethren . . ."[5] Deeming it her duty to remain faithful to the memory of her husband, she repulses Pyrrhus. This sense of duty is intensified by the recollection of the last words of her husband as he prepared to leave for the war:

> "Dear wife," he said, wiping my tears away,
> "I know not what success fate hath this day
> In store for me. I leave this babe to thee
> As my faith's warrant. If he loseth me,
> Let him in thee find me again. If thou
> Dost cherish the memory of our marriage, show
> My son how loved his father was erewhile."[6]

The struggle with which Andromaque contends is not one between passion and will, but one in which she attempts to conduct the actions of Pyrrhus, thus showing exaltation of duty. Pyrrhus, who is now able to bargain Astyanax for the love of his captive, warns her that Greece will give her reason for more tears. The once calm heroine displays a bitter and ironical change in character when she learns that Greece asks for the destruction of her son. She knows that she must now use her greatest weapons to save the life of her son. Her maternal qualities are thus manifested. When Pyrrhus ignores her pleas, she approaches

Hermione with hopes that the latter will intervene in favor of her son. Andromaque explains that she comes not as a jealous rival, but as a mother. She is extremely tactful in order to incite sympathy and to appeal to the feminine heart of Hermione who refuses to aid her. Andromaque again appeals to Pyrrhus and during these crucial moments of her life, she is forced to humble her pride.

As the action of the tragedy progresses, one is able to detect some vacillation in the character of Andromaque. Her maternal qualities have been pointed out. She wishes to save the life of her son, it is true, but she also desires to remain faithful to her husband's memory. Pyrrhus himself describes the action of his captive. He thinks that her fears should yield for the sake of her baby. He finds in her, however, no signs of weakness as she insists that her son must die.

Up to this point, Andromaque has been able to exert some influence on Pyrrhus. She knows her power over him, and by constantly relating to him her misfortunes, she is able to incite the sympathy of her captor. When Pyrrhus shows indifference towards her, she exclaims in a state of anxiety to Céphise that she will marry Pyrrhus. The ceremony alone will be a breach of loyalty to Hector, and she will die at once to expiate it.

Racine gives to Andromaque, the widow and mother, many of the characteristics of a Cornelian heroine. She exalts duty above all else. Her character however, is more subtle. Although fluctuating at times, the heroine shows unswerving loyalty to the memory of Hector and complete devotion to her son. She has led Pyrrhus on in such a manner that he has become more and more attached to her. To evoke his jealousy, she has kept constantly the memory of Hector alive. As a result of his violent passion for Andromaque, Pyrrhus almost completely ignores Hermione. Her obstacle, of course, is Andromaque. Racine has depicted Hermione with a bewildering feminine complexity of character. She is motivated by the passion of love. As the events of the tragedy unfold, one notes that her love is embittered by jealousy which is transformed into hatred, and which finally drives her to murderous violence.

Hermione shows, by her conversation with Cleone, her confidante, her sensitivity to the wounds which have been inflicted upon her womanly pride. Cleone tries to persuade her to leave Epire and to return to Greece but Hermione in her irrational inconsistencies and blind self-delusion invents a false pretext for remaining near Pyrrhus. When Oreste relates to Hermione that some strange power moves Pyrrhus to defend the son of Hector, Hermione, in a fit of jealousy, prevails upon Oreste, using him in an attempt to win back the heart of Pyrrhus. She does not love Oreste, but her feminine pride is flattered by the unreserved devotion of such a constant lover. To avoid discouraging him, she does not confess openly that she loves Pyrrhus; rather she pretends that, as a duty, she must obey the orders of her father, who has betrothed her to the King.

The initial plots of Hermione to destroy the love of Pyrrhus for Andromaque are halted when she learns that he is wedding her instead of his captive. Hence, her attitude, depending on the decision of Pyrrhus, changes. Expressing her joy, she naively idealized the man she loves, forgets the sorrow of Oreste, and shows no sympathy for Andromaque who begs for help in saving the life of her son.

With the final decision of Andromaque to marry Pyrrhus, the course of events takes a definite pattern. The silent wrath of Hermione announces tragic consequences; she seeks revenge. Racine depicts her in a succession of sudden, moving impulses. There are moments of questioning and hesitation, or ardent feeling and reaction. Racine is incomparable in depicting different moods in the same speech as is manifested in the monologue which represents all the possible transitions of Hermione between love, jealousy and hatred. Upon the death of Pyrrhus, Hermione is even more vacillating. She forgets her hatred for the King, scorns Oreste for murdering Pyrrhus and finally she kills herself. We have seen the origin, development, and results of the motives which actuated Andromaque and Hermione. Andromaque, for the most part, maintains moral control, while the latter, infuriated by an insurmountable obstacle, shows lack of strength and, as a result, is driven to her death.

Racine also depicts Phèdre, as Hermione, in a struggle against a superior force in which fate triumphs, but the passion which motivates Phèdre is one which the gods have forced upon her. Unlike Hermione, she is the prey of an environment in which determinism reigns; her will power is inferior to the strength of hereditary impulses. The dramatic interest of the tragedy, inspired by *Hippolytus* of Euripides and *Phèdre* of Seneca, is found in the constant struggle between passion, loyalty and remorse. Phèdre, the principal personage, is the victim of a passion which is more deadly than any which overwhelms any other of the

Racinian heroines. Her exaltation reveals a confused condition of the mind; she struggles in vain and is overcome by the tragic consequences of love.

At the beginning of the tragedy, Hippolyte and Theramene, through a conversation, reveal a tableau of past events, thus preparing skillfully for the future presentation of the heroine. Having slain the Minotaur, the hero, Thésée, has married Phèdre, daughter of the King of Crete. She, in spite of her own will, has fallen in love with Hippolyte, son of Thesee by a previous marriage. In order to conceal her passion, she has been hostile to her stepson. Hippolyte confesses to Theramene, his tutor, that he wishes to avoid both his stepmother and Aricie, the Athenian princess, whom he loves. He then prepares to leave Trezene in search of his father, who may have perished in some expedition. Meanwhile, Phèdre confesses to her nurse, Oenone, that she has an uncontrollable passion for Hippolyte, and she explains the reason for her hostile conduct towards him. The origin, growth, and effects of her passion for Hippolyte can perhaps best be seen in the monologue in which she reveals her secret, (Act I, scene III). Phèdre, newly wed to Thésée, thinks that she is quite happy but love has thus taken possession of her, body and soul. She gives a description of her love as it is manifested through its physical effects when she says: "I saw him/blushed and blanched/To see him/and my soul was all distraught./My eyes were blinded, and I could not speak./" She struggles against this passion and seeks to appease Venus with prayers, offerings, and sacrifices. She avoids Hippolyte, but to no avail.

Finally, thinking that she has solved the problem, she causes Hippolyte to be exiled; she then experiences temporary peace, but in bitter grief. Soon she becomes again the prey of Venus when she sees Hippolyte in Trezene. She now resolves to end her torment by death. With this final resolution the emotional outbursts of Phèdre subside. At this moment an unexpected report alters the situation. The news comes that Thésée is dead. Phèdre then confesses indirectly her love for Hippolyte; the latter rather overwhelmed, pretends not to understand.

Phèdre is no longer the innocent woman, struggling against her passion; she prays that the goddess of love will make Hippolyte her lover, and she uses every device to win him. Hence there is a transition in her character from remorse and self-respect to treachery and crime. Another unexpected occurrence alters the course of events; Thésée returns home. Phèdre is now in terror, fearing that Hippolyte will expose her, or that she will betray herself even should Hippolyte keep silent. She hopes again for death. Following a rapid succession of events, Phèdre learns that Hippolyte is in love with Aricie. All of her past torments are revived and are intensified by a new and greater pain —jealousy. Blinded by passion, she repudiated with scorn, and dismisses her nurse who commits suicide. Hippolyte, in his attempt to escape from the wrath of his father, is destroyed by a gigantic wave and a sea monster. Phèdre confesses her guilty passions to her husband and expires.

We have seen that these two tragedies are animated by the same central theme: the revelation of love in the feminine heart, unrequited and embittered by jealousy. With *Phèdre*, Racine ended thirteen years of unbroken success. He returned to compose his two religious tragedies, *Esther* and *Athalie*. His conception of drama at this point was quite different from that of his secular tragedies. Instead of a tragedy involving a love crisis, there is a conflict of good and evil in which the good overpowers the latter.

The tragedy, *Esther* begins with a prologue in which la **Piète** gives praises to Louis XIV. The principal personage is Esther, a Jewess, who is married to Assuerus, King of Persia. The King, not knowing that his wife is a Jewess, has ordered the extermination of all Jews in his kingdom. Racine has depicted Esther as an ideal representative of the Jewish people in a struggle with Aman, minister of the King, a hypocrite and a traitor. Esther is motivated by a deep love for her people and a devotion of her religious faith. She manifests her love by filling the palace with daughters of Sion and interests herself in the instruction of these children in order to forget the honor of being a queen, and to remain humble before God.

Meanwhile, Mardochée, the uncle of Esther, has learned that Aman has made preparations for the massacre of Israel. He appeals to Esther to prevent this horrible act by interceding for her people. At a feast, she confesses her Jewish origin and implores the King's mercy for the Jews. Her request is granted and Aman is hanged and the King appoints Mardochée as his minister.

Esther has thus proven her love and devotion for her religion and for her people by her boldness in revealing her Jewish origin to her husband, thus enabling her to expose the persecution of an innocent people. Throughout the tragedy, she has exhibited the qualities which Assuerus himself attributes to her. She breathes innocence and peace,/dispels the shadows of black disappointement,/and makes darkest days into days of peace./ Esther does not seek glorification as does Athalie, but rather, she has, as Andromaque, Hermione and Phèdre, exhibited the passion of love, but a love for a persecuted people. She like Andromaque, has exalted duty above all else.

Using the same central theme as *Esther* and *Andromaque,* Racine produces his tragedy, *Berenice* in November, 1670. With *Berenice* there is a conflict between love and duty resulting from the antipathy of Rome to an Oriental queen. Titus, Emperor of Rome, is fearful of revealing to Bérénice that she must leave Rome, thus he delegates the task to Antiochus, King of Comagena, who is also in love with Bérénice, though Titus is unaware of it. Antiochus reveals his love to Bérénice. But she, thinking that Titus will marry her, reacts bitterly toward Antiochus who brings the news that she must leave Rome. One notes human weaknesses in all three characters in their irresolution. Titus wavers from duty to love and from love to duty. Bérénice is uncertain of Titus's feelings toward her and she fluctuates between hope and despair. And Antiochus cannot decide whether to leave Rome or stay. In the words of Arthur Tilley a conflict between "the interests, the sentiments, and the passions" of the individual characters, and between all the characters and the great and relentless majesty of Rome, is the whole drama.

In the finale we find constant but unhappy lovers who submit to the inevitable. Love has yielded to duty and they part forever with love remaining unconquered in their hearts. The intention of suicide as announced by Bérénice causes Titus and Antiochus to declare that they would not survive her. Hearing this declaration, Bérénice recalls them to sanity. The depth of love in the souls of the three characters has caused the best to emit from their very natures.

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Racine terminated his literary career with his last religious tragedy, *Athalie.* One readily notes from the study which the writer has attempted to make that there were various obstacles, presenting themselves in different forms, which Racine's characters encountered. For example, Hermione and Phèdre are both motivated by love which is embittered by jealousy. The obstacle which Hermione encounters is Andromaque, while Phèdre is impeded by Hippolyte himself. The modest Esther, manifesting a love for her people, successfully struggles with

Aman and his evil deeds. Loyalty to duty, on the part of Titus, is the competition of Bérénice. Andromaque derives all her interest from the tragic situation in which she is placed. She exhibits love, but for Hector and her son. She is actually ruled not by passion but by duty. Even though Andromaque represents one of the Racinian pagan heroines, one notes a similarity in her character and that of the Christian heroine, Esther. Both deserve equal admiration for their firm resolutions and their superb mastery of their will power.

Among the secular tragedies one also notes a similarity in the character of Hermione and Phèdre. They are both unrestrained and violent in their passions, deviating in character, decisions and moods which affect other personages. Oreste, by the order of Hermione, murders, indirectly, Pyrrhus. After the deed has been done, he returns to Hermione, sure of her hand in marriage. Instead Hermione is contemptuous of him for what he has done. Phèdre, in a similar situation as that of Hermione, accuses her nurse for having unjustly counseled her. Both, who accuse each other of their crimes, represent the illogical reasoning of passionate women. Although Phèdre exhibits qualities similar to those of Hermione, the dilemma of the two is quite different. It is this fact which distinguished her from other Racinian heroines. She is a victim of the gods and is not responsible for her passion. Phèdre has been depicted not without sympathy, but is not the emotional and impulsive Bérénice also capable of evoking a certain degree of sympathy?

Racine emphasized what he considered to be the most powerful and most assertive aspect in humanity—the passions. These passions underlie his plots, resulting in a most dramatic effect. They compel decisions and action, and provoke the discovery of truth. Thus the characters are usually clairvoyant in their knowledge of themselves. In spite of this clairvoyance, they are moved by the force of passion and as a result, they often become blinded and erroneous in making sane and stable judgements.

The writer has made an attempt to show one aspect of the Racinian character—that of his characters being governed by passions—in particular, love. Racine does not depict love only as a furious and/or crime-provoking passion. He shows us five pairs of lovers who show individuality and are usually innocent and self-controlled but whose very character spell destiny because they are what they are—men and women. Love, "strong as death," as was observed with Hermione and Phédre, drives human nature to assert itself in whatever means seems necessary to obtain desired goals.

Love summons other passions to its service, and then it seeks and finds a ready prey, and feeds remorselessly on it. Love found Phédre who knew how strong and how wrong is her love for her stepson, but this passion does not impede her course of actions. Love has absorbed her whole character until it has driven her from one crime to another. After disaster has struck Oenone, her nurse and confidante, and Hippolyte, there is nothing left for her to do but make her confession to her husband and die. The somewhat calm Andromaque, possessed of love for her son and enslaved to the memory of her dead husband, follows the dictates of her nature when she learns that the only way to save her son is to marry Pyrrhus and kill herself afterwards. The vain and undisciplined Hermione suffers from wounded pride and unrequited love. She chooses to die beside the man she loved rather than be untrue to love. Humble Esther, possessing a profound love for her people, is resigned, submissive and above all bold when she reveals her Jewish origin to the King, her husband. Being aware of possible disdainful actions, she momentarily experiences periods of emotional anxiety. But urged on by her love and devotion for her religion and her people she recovers her self-control and skillfully reveals her firm resolution. The admirable Bérénice suffers from inner conflicts. At one point, the force of love has led her to thoughts of suicide. But when she learns that Antiochus and Titus vow to precede her in death, she says to Titus that she will go on living for she knows that he will always love her.

Racine chose for the most part to enter the souls of queens and kings, giving a picture of their souls in action. He seemingly took pleasure in probing the intensity of passion and the emotional response which it awakes. He, through passions, made his characters spectators as well as agents. Love, infused with other passions, enabled the characters to envision so much and yet so little for they were blinded in the one thing which mattered most to them.

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[1] C. H. C. Wright, *French Classicism* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1920), p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[3] A. F. B. Clark, *Jean Racine* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1939), pp. 58-59.

[4] La Bruyere, "Des Oeuvres de l'esprit," *Oeuvres Completes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), p. 85.

[5] Lacy Lockert, *The Best Plays of Racine* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 60.

[6] Ibid., p. 61.

THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN NOVEL OF THE CORRIDA: A CRITICAL SURVEY

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In 1926, Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* captured the attention of the English-speaking world with its depiction of the aberrant life-style of the so-called "lost generation" of American expatriates. The novel's nihilistic, *carpe diem* chic sparked the romantic imaginations of several decades of youths distressed with their prospects as future bourgeoise entrepreneurs of the American middle-class.

But no less than the heavy drinking of exotic liquors, the casual sexual liaisons, the naturalistic wild spirits of the simple, sensual life, the mute, but strict, rules of comraderie, did the novel popularize the Spanish spectacle of the bullfight. To both the chagrin and economic profit of merchants and city fathers, Hemingway's novel was a boon to the city of Pamplona and its annual **feria** of San Fermin.

Hemingway, of course, was not the first writer in English to depict the bullfight in fiction. Leigh Hunt had inveighed against "these detestable bullfights" in a posthumously published story about a matador.[1] Byron described this "ungentle sport" during the course of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.*[2] And as recently as 1900, Frank Harris had completed his melodramatic *novella, Montes the Matador.* But no novelist in English before Hemingway had written so knowledgeably and so convincingly about the bullfight. *The Sun Also Rises* created much modern interest among English-speaking readers in this Spanish art. If there is an English equivalent of the Spanish **genre** of bullfight fiction, Hemingway may well be called its originator. Hemingway and the bullfight have become so closely associated that his novel, and later short stories, have become the standard by which subsequent novels in English are judged.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the British and American novels of the **corrida** published since *The Sun Also Rises.* These novels may be grouped into several categories according to their narrative structure, theme, and subject matter. One category consists of those novels, written from an omniscient point of view, which examine the character of the matador, usually depicting his struggle to control his fear. Another group uses the device of the foreign observer who is both a participant in the action and also the focal point from which the matador's story is told. A third group of **corrida** novels consists of those which use a circumscribed locale to impose unity on the story, which may be concerned with a wide variety of people in some way connected with the bullfight. A fourth group includes those novels which use the **corrida** as a starting point for examining larger social themes. The final category would consist of those novels which use the **corrida** as a larger metaphor or symbol reinforcing the themes of the novels, which may not directly concern matadors or bulls. A few general comments regarding Hemingway's achievement in *The Sun Also Rises* are necessary to examine the soil which later authors tilled.

When *The Sun Also Rises* was published, the bullfight seemed an esoteric pastime. In the novel, in fact, the world of the **corrida** is a closed one, limited to those who, like Jake Barnes, possess **afición,** the intangible passion for, and knowledge of, the bulls and the art of **torear**. It is difficult for a foreigner to attain **afición** and be accepted among the **habitués** of the Hotel Montoya. Jake Barnes is a privileged individual, and the reader, Hemingway implies, is no less privileged in being granted an introduction to this arcane world.

It was a world the English-speaking reader, with his preconceptions about the Spanish national "sport," probably did not expect. For Hemingway emphasized the obvious but often overlooked fact that the bullfight is not a sport at all. It is a highly ritualized spectacle, a tightly structured drama, a certain tragedy for the bull, a potential tragedy for the matador. It was, in effect, an art, and Hemingway's stance was that of an artist describing the medium and effect of another art to shape a personal statement about heroism, honor, and human dignity.

Hemingway's didactic intentions are evident in the novel. He could not present the **corrida** as a cultural **donnée**. He had to educate the reader in the intricate ritual of the bullfight and provide the context that would enable the reader to understand the character of Pedro Romero, both as Spanish matador and as Hemingway hero. This technical problem has had to be dealt with by all subsequent novelists of the **corrida**.

By bringing Brett, Cohn, Bill, and Mike to Pamplona, Hemingway was using the traditional device of introducing foreign characters to an alien culture. Jake Barnes' explanations to his friends are, in effect, explanations to the reader. In the bullring, Jake sits beside Brett and explains "what it was all about."[3] Jake's explanation and the narrative descriptions of what they see, rendered in Hemingway's taut, sparse prose, are among the finest in the literature of the **corrida**. This is not the melodramatic bombast characteristic of **corrida** fiction at its worst. Brett, Mike, and Bill are moved by what they see. Only Cohn remains cynical, a guache outsider unable to accept the bullfight as an aesthetic experience. So there will be no mistake about what the bullfight is **not**. Jake and Pedro Romero later discuss the exact translation of the Spanish term **corrida de toros.** (p. 133)

In the character of Pedro Romero, Hemingway gave us not only another variation of the code hero but also a portrait of the young matador who, in various guises, is to re-appear in subsequent treatments. Romero is a youth from a poor environment. He was born in Ronda, center of the grave, classical style of bullfighting. A matador of great promise, he is depicted as relatively innocent of the corrupting influences prone to destroy the careers of fictional, and real, matadors, particularly foreign women and liquor. Montoya hopes that Romero will stick to his own small circle of countrymen and avoid such influences: "Look . . . People take a boy like that. They don't know what he's worth. They don't know what he means. Any foreigner can flatter him. They start this Grand Hotel business, and in one year they're through." (p. 132) Romero is seduced by Brett, beaten up by Cohn, and ultimately abandoned by Brett. By the end of the novel he would seem on his way to becoming another debilitated matador frequent in subsequent novels.

Significantly Hemingway does not probe the interior life of Romero. What we know of the pressures and fears he must face we grasp only by inference. The fear of death that obsesses the matador on the day of a **corrida** is simply implied here. As described by Jake Barnes, Romero remains supremely confident and in command of his skills as he shrugs off the beating from Cohn and outperforms Juan Belmonte. Hemingway's reluctance to turn Romero's story into a psychological study of fear was commendable. It was a caution unheeded by some later novelists, with often disappointing results.

In his review of Charles Grayson's *Arena*, Kenneth Tynan noted that "basically there are only two bullfight novels. One deals with a novice on the way up, the other with a veteran on the way down."[4] Unquestionably Tynan had in mind the volumi-

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nous Spanish literature of the corrida in mind, and his generalization is true up to a point. Novelists have used these two narrative patterns. The former story provides the fullest opportunity to present both a detailed picture of the growth and development of the matador and also the cultural, social, and economic ambient of the bullfight. The second type of story has most often been used to present a psychological study of the effect of stress and fear on a human being whose occupation is the risking of his own life.

The first extended treatment of the bullfight by an American writer after the early work of Hemingway was Rex Ingram's *Mars in the House of Death.*[5] Using an omniscient point of view, Ingram tried to combine both of these narrative patterns by presenting the story of a matador from his birth to his death in the arena. Its contrived plot and straining for symbolic underpinning make it only a partial success.

The title of the novel, for example, refers to the ominous zodiacal position of the stars on the night when the hero, Jesus Savedra, is born. Savedra, whose **nom de querre** will be Chuchito, is the illegitimate son of a mediocre bullfighter and a flamenco dancer. He was conceived one night when the matador and the **mayoral**, or foreman, of his family's ranch are carousing in Barcelona. Significantly the **mayoral** later delivers the baby himself. The **mayoral's** nickname is Minotaur, and after his birth, the child is wrapped in a matador's cape.

Chuchito never learns the identity of his father, though he meets him several times during the story. Chuchito is raised by his mother in difficult circumstances. They settle in the third floor apartment of a building housing a bar and a brothel. Chuchito spends a great deal of time on the ranch under the tutelage of Minotaur. Ingram gives us the conventional—for the **corrida** novel—scenes of Chuchito caping the calves during their **tientas**.

After Chuchito has become a successful matador, the story shifts to Mexico where Chuchito performs during the winter season. Here he is introduced to the life-style of international sophisticates, and has an affair with Lisa Robleda, the wife of a Spanish general. A triumphant matador, he returns to Spain and falls platonically in love with his half-sister, Estrella, though the two never learn of their natural relationship. When Lisa Robleda returns to Spain, Chuchito is torn between his profane love for Lisa and his sacred love for Estrella. At the climax of the novel Chuchito is forced to face the bull Paquiro, who has been bred by the Minotaur and who has gored the other two matadors. After an excellent **faena** Chuchito tries to kill the bull **recibiendo**, that is, by making the bull charge into the sword rather than charging the bull. He is fatally gored and dies in the infirmary. Symbolically, the Minotaur has been his creator and his slayer.

More than any other novelist of the **corrida**, Ingram tried to infuse the **corrida** with suggestions of atavistic symbolism. We have noted the circumstances of Chuchito's birth. Before the climactic bullfight, Ingram presents another conventional scene in such novels: the ritualized dressing of the matador, viewed by well-wishers and friends. One of these, an authority on the mythology of the bull, compares the twentieth-century matador to Hermes of Herculaneum, protector of herdsmen, to naked Cretan youths about to play the bull, and to the High Priest of Memphis preparing to sacrifice the bull. (pp. 327-330)

But the character of Chuchito lacks the depth to sustain such symbolic relationships. His motivation for being a matador and continually risking his life is not clearly delineated. He is poor, but the grinding poverty which compels a youth to the most desperate action is never emotionally conveyed to the reader.[6] He is a matador, Ingram's intrusive symbolism suggests, because he was born to be a matador. Surprisingly in view of the fact that the story spans a period of about twenty-five years, Chuchito's character remains static. He has excellent instruction in the art of **torear** from Minotaur. But credibility is strained when at the age of eight years he instructs a veteran matador on the proper use of the cape (p. 88) and shortly afterwards jumps into the ring to rescue the fallen matador with a cape pass done with the small **muleta**. After the matador returns to kill the bull, he and the young boy are given a triumphal tour of the ring. (pp. 100-101)

Despite the omniscient point of view, Ingram fails to give us a probing psychological study of the effect of fear on the matador. Chuchito seems to feel little fear at all. In fact, it is suggested that he will never feel fear in the bullring because he has learned his skills well. The Minotaur remarks, "fear . . . as I have observed it in other matadors, is generally due to a lack of education. . . . the **educated** torero has his off days, but fear is not the cause of them." (pp. 58-59) The validity of the observation is dubious. But more important for the novel, Chuchito lacks an essential emotion which would humanize his character. He remains a symbolic automaton. Despite Ingram's best efforts to touch the reader at the end by depicting Chuchito's dying memories of his

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friends, the reader is unable to accept his death in human terms. One gleans no significance from either his life or his death.

Ingram's enthusiasm for the **corrida**, however, cannot be discounted. As Chuchito learns about the bulls, the art of **torear**, and the business of the bullfight, the reader too is given an education. Authenticity is achieved through Ingram's sound, accurate description of the bullfight. Realism is also created by the allusions to people and events in the history of the **corrida**, as, for example, in the episode when Chuchito and Minotaur visit the *Museo Taurino* in Valencia. (p. 44ff.) Ingram does not spare the reader the gruesome details he does not see from his seat in the arena. As she waits to visit the dying Chuchito in the infirmary, Lisa sees the frantic efforts of ring attendants to stitch up eviscerated horses, and she watches the dead bulls being butchered after serving their turns in the ring. Even more than Hemingway, Ingram wants to drive the point home that bullfighting is not a sport. "An art, yes," he says. But art is a uniquely human creation, and it is just this touch of humanity that is lacking in *Mars in the House of Death*.

The most intensely focused study of a veteran matador's deterioration is Barnaby Conrad's *Matador*, his second novel.[7] Conrad has been a prolific writer on the bullfight. *Matador* depicts the final day in the life of a twenty-nine-year-old bullfighter named Pacote. Pacote is modeled upon the most popular matador of the 1940's, Manolete, whose tragic death on the horns of a Miura bull occurred in Linares in 1947. Conrad later described Manolete's death in a work of non-fiction,[8] and some events reported in that work appear in the novel.

Pacote has the traditional impoverished background of the matador. The bulls have become the means of Pacote's breaking out of his poverty. He recalls visiting the breeding ranches at night and caping the wild bulls for practice—with little possibility of being rescued if he were gored. Such has always been the illegal but standard method for youths to acquire their skills. Having become a successful matador, he becomes caught up in the sophisticated life-style of the wealthy, often foreign, patrons of the **corrida**. He suffers frequent humiliation from his mistress, who has introduced him to this social circle. He has cut himself off from his own people, as Montoya had warned Jake Barnes a matador should never do.

In contrast to Ingram's Chuchito, Conrad's Pacote has greater depth of character. He is more humanized, and in a way that suggests the complex motivation of the matador. The desire to overcome poverty, to be wealthy and famous, have nurtured in Pacote pride in his achievement. He is, in fact, about to retire when he is goaded into this final fight by a rising young matador equally eager to be **numero uno**. Having achieved his status, however, the matador finds himself in a psychological dilemma he cannot resolve. He must continually satisfy the crowd in the arena, playing a role as a fearless killer of bulls, a role he feels his true character can no longer support. With every risk the matador takes, the crowd demands greater risks. As his manager notes to a picador he is trying to hire:

> They keep demanding more and more every fight and he hasn't any more to give. He's just a man, after all, and there's just so much a man can do with a bull without eating it alive. He's no magician. The people created a myth around him, which is fine. Fine for the wallet. But the myth has gotten bigger than the man. And the man is smaller than he was. (pp. 62-63)

Conrad, like other novelists of the **corrida**, echoes Ibanez' lament that the true beast in the arena is the crowd itself, which, safe behind the **barrera**, demands that the matador create ever greater risks to his own life to satisfy its pleasure.

Conrad's narrative is swiftly-paced, but his striving for psychological depth and realism are unconvincing. The reader can accept Pacote's fear, and his excessive drinking because these are understandable in human terms, whatever Pacote's profession. Conrad's prose, however, can be excessively melodramatic. As Pacote begins drinking on the morning before his retirement fight, he feels the fear within him:

> Yes, it was really there inside him, as big as an ostrich egg. The fear organ was right there just below the V of his rib cage, below his heart, a great hunk of fear. It was as real as any other organ in his torso. It wasn't the dull ache of the usual fear: this was a sharp pain of fear, unlike any other he'd ever known. (p. 16)

However the reader may sympathize with Pacote, his almost wilful attempt to get drunk on the morning of this final fight of his career is puzzling.

Even Pacote's humiliations are exaggerated. His manager, sensing the disaster that may occur, hires a picador notorious for the illegal punishment he can inflict on the bull to weaken it for the matador. The anecdote about the matador's need to urinate before the paseo (and perhaps not making it to the lavatory in time) is part of **corrida** lore. But Pacote's disgraceful behavior defies credibility, even in his drunken state. He refuses to make a **quite** on either of the first two bulls, remaining safely in the **callejon** and directing his peones to wear down his own bull. Catcalls from the people who had paid to see him perform rain down on him. When he finally goes out on the sand to begin his **faena**, he trips over his own muleta and is carried to the infirmary. After returning, and preparing to face his second bull, he vomits. His **faena** and kill are disastrous. Even an **aficionado** who has witnessed many a debacle would find it hard to accept this as a realistic exhibition, even of a cowardly matador.

Finally, Conrad's narrative becomes most contrived and melodramatic at the conclusion. There was no significance to the death of Ingram's Chuchito. His death was simply due to bad luck or at most a momentary lapse in judgment. Conrad's Pacote must regain some dignity so that his death may become tragic, not pathetic. At the end, disgraced and pelted with cushions, he demands to buy the **sobrero**, the substitute bull. The fight which follows is epical and tensely narrated by Conrad. Pacote concludes his **faena** with an **adorna**: he clasps his teeth on a horn of the winded bull. (p. 185) The crowd is delirious. Pacote is still number one. As in Linares, Pacote kills the bull with his sword thrust but the bull also fatally gores him. As Pacote dies in the infirmary his **peone de confianza** echoes the theme stated earlier: "More and more. . . . They kept demanding more and more—and more was his life, so he gave it to them." (p. 190)

There is no explicit didacticism in the novel. Conrad assumes the reader possesses some knowledge of the **corrida** and will infer the structure and intricacies of it through the dialog and action. However improbable his plot, Conrad writes with the accuracy and the authority of much personal contact with the **corrida.** As did Hemingway and Ingram, Conrad adds touches of realism to the narration by the appearance of real matadors—the retired Juan Belmonte—and real breeds of bulls—Miuras.

Conrad also uses a narrative device that appears frequently in these novels. During the **corrida** Conrad shifts attention to the bullfight critic composing his evaluation of the matador's performance for the newspapers. The device allows Conrad to analyze the hero's performance from a feigned objective viewpoint.

Economy of narration is achieved, for the criticism is pithy and redolent of bullfight jargon.

One final thematic motif should be noted, again because of its prominence in the **corrida** novel. Hemingway had introduced his characters into a foreign world, creating implied clashes of cultural viewpoints regarding the bullfight. Such cultural differences, however resolved, may provide insight both into the characters themselves and into the cultures they represent. In *Matador*, Paco is buttonholed by a gauche American couple seeking his autograph and snapshot. (pp. 27-28) They claim to be great **aficionados**, but their behavior and manner belie their ignorance. Later an impertinent American journalist imposes himself upon Pacote, requesting an interview. Pacote slyly cons the man. But the point is clear, for the portraits of the American are satirical. True knowledge and understanding of the **corrida** is a very private, cultural matter. Foreigners, particularly Americans, find it difficult to grasp the meaning and value of the art.

Tom Lea's *The Brave Bulls*[9] also presents the story of a matador in what appears to be his decline. It too is told from an omniscient point of view. But unlike *Matador*, it does not end in death but in triumph.

In *The Brave Bulls*, Lea has produced some of the finest writing describing the ambient of the bullfight. His prose is marked by simplicity and restraint in diction and syntax, yet Lea captures the flavor and atmosphere of a small Mexican pueblo preparing for its annual **feria**. And Lea gives an added dimension to the bullfight novel by developing his story along two narrative lines. The first concerns the problems of the local empressario, Eladio Gomez, in trying to arrange a memorable **corrida** worthy of Cuenca's religious celebration. In contrast to the conventional portrait of greedy bullring empressarios, who seek to exploit both matador and customer, Gomez is presented sympathetically. A man with great **afición**, he blends an artistic temperment with a desire for profit. As empressario Gomez is the instrument which will bring man and bull into the arena on this memorable Sunday. Lea tries to impose on the narrative a sense of destiny:

> Gomez's walk to the Plaza Club that morning was a mystic occurrence. At the precise moment he stepped up to the Plaza bar, Luis Bello, a matador with a hangover, took two aspirin tablets before he went to his uncle's funeral in Guerreras four hundred and thirty kilometers from Cuenca; and a black bull with the tassel

> missing from his tail licked up the last grain of cracked corn in his stone trough, tossed his head to dislodge a blackbird sitting on his shoulder, and moved to the shade of a giant nopal cactus in a stone-fenced pasture seven hundred kilometers from the Plaza Club. It is remarkable that such an unremarkable man as Eladio Gomez should, in going after a drink of tequila, begin to assume the role of an implement of fate for a famous man and a black bull utterly unaware of each other's existence. (pp. 5-6)

Written at the time for an American audience, the novel's didacticism is hardly subtle. Gomez goes to a famous breeding ranch to try to persuade the owner to sell him bulls for his **fiesta**, though usually such bulls would be out of his price range. The breeder takes him on a tour of the ranch and in response to a question from Gomez delivers a lengthy dissertation on the breeding of bulls. (p. 84ff) The facts are elementary, and surely known to a man of Gomez's background. But Lea's purpose is to enlighten his readers about the careful, scientific management that must go into producing a **toro bravo**.

Lea gives us some of the most philosophical justifications of the bullfight to be found in fiction. In an obvious attempt to convince the reader of the aesthetic foundation of the bullfight, Lea describes some of the local townspeople discoursing on the day of the **corrida**:

> "It is of course necessary," old Iriarte put in, "to understand our festival is not a sport but a spectacle. It is a form of drama as certainly as the works of Sophocles. But what a difference between the happenings on a stage or in a poem, and the happenings in a plaza!"
>
> "Exactly," the Engineer said. "The festival of the bulls is the only art form in which violence, bloodshed, and death are palpable and unfeigned. It is the only art in which the artist deals actual death and risks actual death, as if a poet were called upon to scan his lines with his life. It is the contemplation of this visible violence and actual death that gives the art its peculiar power, gentlemen." (p. 199)

Lea's matador, Luis Bello, is cut from the same pattern as the others already discussed. Bello remembers the humiliations he experienced as a child. Having become successful, he is now alienated from his family and its old traditions. He expresses disgust with those whom he supports. He is now having his difficulty in the ring, and the fear that is beginning to grip him is seen as a natural process in the life of a matador. Lea contrasts Bello with his younger brother, Pepe, an aspiring young matador: "They both laughed, Luis thinking of the horns on the bulls, and Pepe just thinking of the bulls." (p. 25)

Lea, however, suggests that the motivation of a matador is something greater than a desire for wealth and fame. If the reader is to accept the bullfight as art and the matador as artist, then he must be made to feel that there is a greater need compelling a man to risk his life in order to create moments of plastic beauty and grace. Pepe Bello ruminates on his own compulsion:

> He couldn't explain it to his mother, why he fought bulls. He couldn't explain it to anybody. Besides, an explanation wouldn't do anybody any good. It was a fever, and he had it. It was not nameable, thought Pepe Bello. The fame didn't explain it; neither did the money. It came from deep down. It made men want to fight bulls the way other men had to climb high mountains or shoot bears or paint naked women. (p. 33)

But despite his fine prose and his initial attempt to impart a feeling of tragic destiny to his story, Lea's plotting relies too heavily on coincidence and melodrama. Luis Bello's growing fear is understandable, but the two events which precipitate his crisis are difficult to accept as realistic fiction. In the ring he witnesses the death of an older matador, who had been thought so wise that, however mediocre his performance, he was indestructible. The death and funeral shake Bello's already faltering confidence in himself. Shorlty afterwards, he learns that his long-time friend and manager and his mistress are killed in an automobile accident. Nothing seems certain in life anymore. Taking these events as omens of his own fate, Bello retreats into an orgy of sex and drinking in a brothel.

The fight in Cuenca becomes the test of Bello's bravery. Gomez has purchased four bulls, but in order to buy them has been forced to accept one which is quite ugly. The bulls will be fought by the Bello brothers. Luis has drawn the ugly one, which he will fight as his second. The first part of the climactic fight is a study of Bello's fear. He cannot sculpt statuesque passes, for he cannot control his feet or arms. He disgraces himself as he runs from his first bull after his sword thrust fails.

When his brother is injured and taken to the infirmary, Bello is faced with the prospect of having to kill three more bulls. He kills his brother's first bull acceptably enough, and then faces the ugly bull, his second.

As description of **torear**, the fight Bello wages with this ugly, but brave, bull is masterful. Lea's prose is sharp, accurate, and restrained. He comes as close as any writer has done in conveying a sense of plastic rhythm and movement which is the essence of the bullfight:

> His body turned like some solemn sculpture swaying with glittering arms, sweeping the cloth low, fastening the horns into a long pink swing that pulled the plunging blackness past, and, when it was gone, settled to rest around the immobile slippers on the sand. Weightless and poised, divorced from time in its magic slow lightness, the rosy arc of the veronica flared out, curving and carrying away the rush of the beast as it returned and returned again.
>
> . . .
>
> When it came again, he felt his hand at his right hip holding the gathered folds of the cloth as he spun sharp whirling, wrapping the blackness coiling close. He heard the whuff, the grunt of the bull hurt as he wrenched it hard around. (p. 252)

But ultimately this concluding episode is too contrived and obvious. Bello kills the bull **recibiendo** and tours the ring in triumph with his brother, who has returned to kill his own bull. The value of *The Brave Bulls* is in its faithful rendering of the atmosphere of the **corrida** and its simple, forthright descriptions of the art of **torear**.

The three novels just discussed attempt to convey the stress and pressures on the matador by internal analysis of character. Another group of **corrida** novels uses the device of the external observer witnessing and evaluating the events in which he is a participant. He is a foreigner and as such can provide the story a moral and cultural perspective from which the **corrida** can be seen in a more universal context.

The narrator in Peter Viertel's *Love Lies Bleeding*[10] is an American writer, Richard Belden, living in Europe. He is a close friend of Juan Ramon Vasquez, the top matador in Spain. Viertel does not use Belden simply as a static observer. Viertel characterizes him in depth. We learn of his tribulations as a novelist, of his broken marriage, of his groping for a sense of purpose. Though a novelist, Belden's anxieties are mundanely human. The relationship between Belden and Vasquez is one founded on basic human needs. Viertel's purpose is to depict Vasquez not as a romantic, though agonized, hero, but as a plain workaday fellow beset with typically human problems.

Through Belden, Viertel establishes his aesthetic stance toward the bullfight. Analogies between the matador and the writer run throughout the novel. Both Belden and Vasquez are depicted as artists working under the same stress and strain, as they seek to express themselves through their work. Both expose themselves to the crowd for judgment. Both risk the humiliation of failure. Both are driven by an urge to become something greater than they are and become surrogates for all men in their assertion of human transcendence through art. Both must master themselves and their skills. Vasquez, for example, explains to Belden why he continues to fight the bulls:

> People think that fighting the bulls is a matter of passion, of inspiration, and valor. They speak of duende and death. But none of that is important. Because, first of all, a torero has to create emotion in the public. And just because you can feel an emotion does not mean you can transmit it. Ultimately you must feel it, of course, but only once you have gained control of yourself. . . . [A matador is] afraid of being made to look ridiculous, which is the same thing you face when you try to write. That is when you can tell if a man has valor, when a man is able to face the responsibility of his profession, of his art, if you like. . . . That is why it is easy to do a thing once, one book, or one afternoon with the bulls. But to do it for many years, day after day, that is what is difficult, that is the proving of the man. (p. 117)

Through Belden's eyes we glean the pressures building upon Vasquez. Vasquez's wife has always hated the bulls. He is now torn between his love for his wife and his love for his mistress. A rising young matador threatens his position, compelling Vasquez to justify himself in fight after fight. Vasquez's father is dying of cancer. The strain of keeping his life under control begins to show with some bad performances early in the season.

Belden's journey with Vasquez through the circuit of bullrings

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during a summer in Spain forms the main action of the story. The season is a succession of triumphs and disasters for Vasquez. His crisis comes when, on the same day, he is gored in the ring and later informed that his father has died. Obsessed with the need to prove himself, Vasquez recovers sufficiently to resume his tour, despite his weakened condition and the pleas of his friends to quit for the season. In the climactic bullfight we have come to expect, Vasquez triumphs on a bull he must kill for another matador who has been gored. But on his own, the final bull of the afternoon, Vasquez is again gored. This ironic twist saves Viertel's novel from the melodrama typical of the **corrida** novel.

Despite his enthusiasm, Viertel does not romanticize the bullfight. Belden's journey with Vasquez is a journey toward self-realization and disillusionment. Belden becomes increasingly disenchanted with the crowd in the arena, echoing Ibanez's indictment against the true beast in the arena. Viertel suggests that the poor people in the cheap seats see the matador as their hero, fighting a bull which is symbolic of the suffering and drudgery of their lives. Only the matador has **cojones** to defy what they are too cowardly to rebel against. (pp. 258-259) The bullfight becomes no longer enjoyable to Belden, because he knows the man must slay the bulls as a fragile human being and friend, not as an idol popped out of the empressario's pocket every Sunday for the delight of the spectators.

Finally, Belden, in questioning his own motives for following the bulls, raises the cultural questions which Vasquez and his countrymen would not consider questions at all. He admits to the cruelty and punishment that is part of the bullfight. He justifies these by balancing them against the honesty, valor, and openness with which the ritual of the bull's death is conducted. Here are no walls to hide what goes on everyday in the slaughterhouse.

However, Belden feels that in some way he has been hardened to the suffering of others and without this ability "to feel true sorrow for any death that was not his own" Belden fears he could no longer function as an artist.

Viertel tries for subtlety of characterization, but ultimately is unsuccessful. His characters, however, in their unpretentiousness are more realistic and human than most in the **corrida** novel. Through them Viertel raises most clearly and succinctly the question of the bullfight as art and the role of the matador as artist. He presents no easy answers to justify the bullfight. How is it possible to gain an aesthetic experience from a ritual that entails witnessing the suffering and death of a noble animal? That question has never been answered. But it is only asked by people like Belden—an outsider.

Charles Grayson in *Arena*[11] also used the device of the American writer befriending a Spanish matador. The plot is replete with the conventional scenes of the **corrida** novel: the **sorteo** of the bulls before a fight; the dressing of the matador; a visit to a **qanaderia**. Grayson, however, examines the matador neither on the rise nor in decline. The novel suffers from uncertainty of purpose and direction.

Jason Kirk, a sports reporter for a wire service, is sent to Madrid to be groomed for an administrative post. Kirk has been an **aficionado** of longstanding. In Madrid he meets the number one matador, Rodrigo. Both Kirk and Rodrigo fall in love with the daughter of a wealthy Spaniard, an Anglophobe in manner and outlook as a result of his British education. Don Solorzano detests the bullfight, and neither he nor his daughter, Stella, has ever attended one. Stella elopes with Rodrigo. The moody, care-free bachelor must now contend with a wife who has no understanding of his profession and its attendant psychological strains.

The second half of the novel is set in Mexico, where Jason Kirk has been sent to be a taurine critic for the wire service. During a tour of South America and Mexico, the marriage of Rodrigo and Stella becomes shaky. He cannot share with her his life as a matador; she cannot understand why he wishes to fight bulls at all. Jason Kirk mediates between the two, Jason finally persuades Stella to attend a **corrida**, where she sees Rodrigo gored, but not seriously enough to prevent him from returning to triumph with the final bull on the card. Stella is touched by the experience and, it is implied, will never again question her husband's right to fight bulls.

Grayson's pedestrian style is hardly able to support the unexciting plot. His writing contains technical errors and becomes quite arch. When writer and matador meet for the first time we get this meditation from Jason:

> A champ, thought Jason, observing the matador's gait as he approached their table. An egotistical gladiator without the brain of a newt, probably, but a champ, if ever one had the look.[12] (pp. 24-25)

Striving for some Hemingway mystique, Grayson describes the two "communing on the bulls, the two seem enviably youthful and vigorous, sharers of a private, splendid domain." (p. 26)

Grayson's characterizations are superficial. Rodrigo is never individualized, and he is interesting neither as man nor matador. He is a potpourri of the conventional features of fictional matadors since Hemingway. His motivation is puzzling to his wife and confusing to the reader. Grayson succeeds only in reducing his matador's deeper motives to fatuous pseudo-Dostoyevskian conundrum:

> Mother of God, its the way we hate death that makes us what we are! To hate it so that we can look in its ugly face and call it nothing! Then back up our contempt by taking the only power death has and using it—by killing! (p. 253)

Grayson tries to impart some universal meaning to, some universal bond between, the matador and every man. Jason Kirk recalls as a young boy his uncle discoursing on the "tight moment" all men must face, those moments under pressure when we find out what we are. It is only toward this simplistic awareness that the novel builds, if it may be said to build at all. At the end, moved by Rodrigo's determination to return to the arena and slay the sixth bull, Jason realizes that he too—in his own profession—must stick to his trade and persevere. He will return to his job as a sports reporter and be the best there is.

In his first novel Barnaby Conrad had also used a transplanted American as a major character caught up in the events of the **corrida.** *The Innocent Villa*[13] is based upon Conrad's experiences as a Foreign Service officer in Spain during the early forties. The main character is Lance Peters, who arrives in Cordoba to be diplomatic Vice-Consul. There are touches of the "ugly American" theme here, for Lance's boss, Cragg, is a fumbling, ineffectual dolt, oblivious to the culture in which he lives.

The plot consists of two successive stories. The first concerns the love affair between Peters and a servant, Chelo. This story comes to a fitful, though not final, conclusion when Lance forces Chelo to have an abortion.

The second story concerns the family of Luis Escobar, a retired, renowned matador, modeled upon Juan Belmonte. Escobar has two sons who he hopes will become great matadors in the family tradition. The older son, Domingo, is presently only a mediocre matador and is a disappointment to his father. The younger son, Luisin, though having all the physical gifts to be a great matador, is an extremely sensitive youth who would rather spend his time raising pigeons and farming. He too is a disappointment to old Escobar.

In the character of Domingo, Conrad gives us a conventional examination of the effect of fear on the matador. Domingo is a coward, terrified of the bulls horns. He arouses some sympathy, however, for he does not swagger and feign fearlessness. He accepts his humiliations in the ring with good nature.

Luisin's character is touched with irony. Through him the reader is introduced to the art of the bullfight. Shortly after meeting Lance, he puts on a demonstration of cape work with the calves during the conventional scene of the **tienta.** His work is excellent. "Lance had never seen such incredible masculine grace before in his life." (p. 113) Even his cowardly brother admits "he's just like our father in the ring, only more grace and dominance." (p. 181) Thus Luisin is an unusual Spanish youth, certainly an unusual would-be matador, in his reluctance to fight the bulls.

Luisin is goaded into the ring by Chelo's sister, who desires the fame and money that goes with being a mistress of a famous matado. He reluctantly agrees to appear in his first fight as a **novillero** during the local **feria** in order to win the gold medal that goes to the best matador. He dreams of the triumph he will have in the ring.

Conrad's narrative would seem to be leading toward the same melodramatic ending we have come to expect. The two brothers are scheduled to fight on the same card on the first day of the **feria.** Domingo, as expected, gives a terrible performance. Expectations are raised for Luisin to salvage the family honor. Ironically, Luisin is no less a disaster than his brother. Jeers rains down on him when he cannot make his feet keep still. He is totally humiliated. Conrad, in a view he was to reiterate again in *Matador*, suggests that the key to the matador's success is not his education or natural talent but the basic mastery of his fear.

Conrad's first novel would have been a modest achievement had he made his point and concluded. After the fight, the proud, heartbroken Escobar cruelly berates his son for the shame brought on the family, while Luisin shrinks on his bed under a sheet. It is a touching, depressing scene. Ironically, Luisin is no braver than the average **peone** sitting behind the **barrera.** It was a gloomy ending perhaps, but Conrad would have given us a fresh treatment of a worn theme.

But it is not the ending to satisfy the melodramatist who seems the alter ego of the novelist of the **corrida.** For on the day following Luisin's humiliation, Domingo gets drunk and cannot perform. Luisin, in a very unusual procedure, is permitted to be his substitute. In the ring for only the second time in his life, he gives an unheard of performance on a pair of Miura bulls. The crowd rises in hysterical enthusiasm matched only by Conrad's hysterical prose. Luisin is finally gored, but not fatally and after the fight he and Chelo determine to marry.

The Innocent Villa is an uneven performance, and added proof that enthusiasm for, and sound technical knowledge of, the **corrida** will not in themselves produce good fiction. Conrad's fictional judgment is not equal to his judgment about tauromachy. Authenticity is given to the novel by Conrad's sound commentary on the history of the **corrida**, particularly the importance of the Golden Age of Belmonte and Joselito. (p. 186ff) His description of the concluding bullfight is technically accurate, if realistically improbable. His most interestingly drawn characters are not the American observer or the Spanish matador, but Chelo, the servant girl, and Luis Escobar, a faithful rendering of Belmonte as Conrad knew him in the forties.

Three novels of the **corrida** use a circumscribed place to impose unity on the story. The first, and best, novel using this technique is Robert Ramsey's *Fiesta.*[14] The novel is set in Hidalgo, Mexico. In a variation of the conventional, Ramsey's protagonist is not a full matador, but a servant and part-time banderillero. Antonio Diaz is the son of a picador and brother of a slain matador.

Ramsey adds to the thematic scope of his novel by developing a theme that has been touched upon by others. The theme of the contrast of cultures is prominent early in the work. The conflict is focused in the character of Antonio. As seen by him, Hidalgo is a spiritually dying town, its vitality sapped. Images of decay are plentiful. Vultures fly over the center of the town. When Antonio stands on a hill overlooking Hidalgo, his eyes are attracted not by the ancient quarter, but by a cafe from which streams American music. For Antonio America symbolizes freedom from authority, from the tyranny of tradition, and the promise of economic opportunity.

Antonio is urged to accept his place. Lupita, the servant girl whom he loves, asks him: "How can we change those things? We are like we are, as our parents were, and their parents. It is no different with us." (p. 43) Antonio's struggle to resolve this conflict in himself, i.e., whether to flee to America or reconcile himself to life in Hidalgo, is made more complex because he feels his desire to flee is also motivated by his fear of the bulls and the job he must perform with his father every Sunday. In fact, the bull comes to symbolize for Antonio all that he fears in life, all that he would flee if he were truly a man. Ramsey thus uses the bullfight to symbolize Hispanic political, social, and religious tradition. For Antonio, these are steadfast and immutable.

Young Antonio dreams of a new order for himself, if only he could rid himself of the burden of the past and its intimidating power over men's minds and spirits:

> It must be the same as his own fear in the bull ring, he thought, a fear that never quite left him, and that encompassed others too indefinite for him to understand clearly or even name: a fear of authority, of the powerful, the patrón, the power of the Church, and of the mysterious things of the past, the ancient cruel gods of the Indians not quite forgotten. In the bull ring all these mysteries and instinctive fears out of the past merged in the one ancient antagonist, the great black bull. From week to week he faced this fear; he believed that if he could escape this, he would escape all the rest. (p. 24)

Because Antonio is only a **peone,** Ramsey is able to present his bullfight episodes from a different perspective. As the time for the **corrida** approaches, Antonio grows increasingly fearful. He begins to drink to brace his courage. He resolves to leave Hidalgo; "he would be a different man." (p. 155)

Ironically, however, during the bullfight Antonio must serve matadors who are more terrified of the bulls than he is. Ramsey focuses primarily on the more brutal facts of the **corrida.** His prose is firm and pungent in its description of the bullfight, but devoid of any suggestion that, after all the manly bloodshed and death, there is something romantic or mystical about the **corrida.**

After the death of Antonio's father in the ring, Ramsey's narrative loses the firm foundation it had built on the themes of personal valor and cultural conflict. Feeling personal guilt for his father's death, Antonio runs off to Mexico City with a wealthy movie actress who is in Hidalgo making a film. The anticipated conventional episodes ensue, but Ramsey laces them with irony. Antonio after all is a **peone**, but seduced and corrupted by the actress as if he were a rising **numero uno.** Antonio does not fit in with the sophisticated people of the capital city; he is a peasant, and his alienation from this social circle forebodes his future alienation from American society. The actress promises to underwrite Antonio's career as a full matador, the last thing this fearful banderillero wants. He takes the occasion to return to Hidalgo, chastened, but reconciled to his humble future as an obedient servant of patrón, church, and state.

Had it concluded here Grayson's narrative would have remained realistic, its thematic statement clear. However, Antonio, even though only a **peone**, must have his triumph. He returns to the arena as a banderillero. During the conventional climactic bullfight, a cartel with two matadors, the senior matador is gored, and the younger matador, terrified, becomes too sick to kill the remaining two bulls. In a highly unusual move, as contrived as Conrad's in *Innocent Villa*, Antonio must slay the bulls. He kills the first acceptably, and on the second he gives a magnificent performance. To the hysterical cheers of the crowd he kills the bull, though wounded himself. As Antonio makes his tour of the ring there is the indefinite suggestion that his wound will be fatal—a final irony in a novel whose success depends upon Ramsey's perception of the ironies inherent in the world of the **corrida.**

In *The Red Sands of Santa Maria*[15] Bill Murphy brings together a varied group of characters to the Mexican town of Santa Maria during its annual **feria.** All the characters have problems which will be resolved by the end of the novel, the climactic bullfight serving as a therapeutic catalyst. Among the characters are a vacationing American couple trying to resolve the future of their adulterous relationship. A diffident shopkeeper, Pablo, hides from everyone, including his fianceé, Dolores, his passionate love for bulls—though he readily admits he is too cowardly to have ever been a torero. Dolores is uncertain whether she should marry Pablo, owing to his dulness. The local factotum in Santa Maria is Luis Aquero, who owns a cafe and brothel, is not above being a procurer, and has his own sexual perversions. Two matadors arrive in Santa Maria, the younger a Mexican, the older a Spaniard. They come as much in search of pleasure as for fighting bulls.

The narrative traces the affairs of these characters during the **feria** until they are all brought together at the arena. It is a dull cast. Characterization, when it is not merely superficial, borders on caricature. Trusting to his sexual magnetism, the Spaniard tries to seduce Dolores, primarily out of a perverse desire to humiliate the harmless Pablo, whom the matador loathes as a coward. Dolores defends her virginity to the last. The other, equally robust, matador seduces a friend of Dolores. The American couple goes through equally melodramatic crises.

Into this tawdry action, Murphy injects some philosophy regarding death and the matador, suggesting again that the greatest fear is felt by the veteran matador who has been gored many times. But the most profound insight that Murphy can render is the notion that "the greatness came from plunging into the bottomless pit of fear and being able to rise from it to the heights of bravery." (p. 192)

Murphy's writing is better when he describes the ritual leading up to the bullfight, the **apartedero,** and the **sorteo,** for example. He tries to suggest something about the character of the matador by contrasting the Mexican and the Spaniard. But little is made of this contrast, except the conclusion that the Mexican is not as intensely serious about the bulls as the Spaniard is. "No heart there," notes the Spaniard of the Mexican during the bullfight. As a result, the young Mexican disgraces himself when he fails to kill his bull in the allotted time. The Spaniard's triumph may well be poetic justice balancing the sexual successes the Mexican has had during the **feria**.

In a genre from which we may expect the most improbable of contrived endings, Murphy's melodramatic conclusion may well be ranked **numero uno.** While caping a bull, the Spaniard trips and falls. The arena is stunned. The fallen matador is at the mercy of the bull. Suddenly Pablo jumps into the ring, grabs a cape, kicks the bull in the testicles to get its attention, and draws the bull away from the matador with some excellent cape passes.

Murphy's ability is not equal to the possibilities of his material, and *The Red Sands of Santa Maria* vies with John Masters' Fandango Rock[16] as the poorest of corrida novels. Masters, a retired British military officer, writes about the American military presence in Spain, and its impact on Spanish culture. The bullfight is at the periphery of Masters' story, which concerns the tensions and conflicts between American airmen and the villagers of the fictitious town of Medina Lejo, near which the American air base is located.

Masters' depiction of fumbling—but well-intentioned—military officers making fools of themselves in their attempts to establish social and cultural ties with the Spanish people is quite distorted. Though presented seriously, the American officers are caricatures.

A major character, who causes the Americans great difficulty, is a young aristocrat of Medina, César Acquirre. Proud, egotistical, wealthy, handsome, César is a staunch conservative who casts himself in the role of defender of Spanish honor, custom, and tradition against the onslaught of corrupting—notably American—influences. César has joined a radical right-wing group dedicated to preserving the present Spanish state and religion. Masters embodies in César the past greatness of Spain. In a contrived, symbolic gesture, Masters makes the wealthy César a matador, a **"torero por principios."**

The concept of a matador "for principles" is unique in the **corrida** novel. And as César's **apoderado** acknowledges, it is unique in history. (p. 65) The idea is false and unconvincing, despite Masters' determination to use the corrida as a symbol of Spanish culture and tradition. "Spain is rotting away," César says. "Football, rock and roll—anything, as long as it's cheap, easy, and safe. They'd sell their Faith for a rise in pay." (p. 65) César thus defends the bullfight against the uninformed criticism of the Americans. "We need, not meat, but art," he says, "an art bravo, a spirit bravo." (p. 91)

Except for his unique motivation and wealthy background, César cuts the conventional figure of the matador. He is appropriately skilled, though not obsessively fearful. Paradoxically, Masters emphasizes the beastly nature of the bullfight crowd, noting that they are "the enemy of the matador," (p. 349) a curious simplification inconsistent with the symbolic role César assumes as benefactor to his people. Although the bullfight per se occupies only a small place in the novel, Masters finds the conventional climactic bullfight a convenient device by which to conclude his novel. Fighting with only three hours sleep in two days, César triumphs, as the reader might expect. Afterwards, he retires from the ring and re-dedicates himself to helping his people save their culture. He renounces his radical ways, however, and determines to preserve Spain by accepting the responsibilities imposed of him by his aristocratic birth.

Throughout his career, Marguerite Steen has written frequently about Spain. Completed twenty years apart, two of her novels, *Matador* and *The Bulls of Parral,*[17] use the ambient of the bullfight as a loom upon which Steen weaves stories of richer social texture and color.

Matador, for example, is essentially a novel of Spanish manners and of social, religious, and political conflict. Holding these elements together is the **corrida.** The story concerns the Marquez family of Granada. Head of the family is Don José Diáz Marquez, a retired bullfighter and now a respected, middle class citizen of Granada. Marquez has three sons. The oldest, Pepe, is an aspiring matador. Miquel, deformed at birth, is training for the priesthood. The youngest, Juan, wants to be a poet, though his father continually tries to cultivate in him a passion for the bulls.

Much of the story is concerned with old Marquez's attempt to negotiate a marriage for Pepe, a marriage that would provide an adequate dowry to fund his career as a matador. Marquez's choice for the match is Pilar, ward of her grandmother, Doña Mercedes. After the match has been agreed to and arrangements made, Doña Mercedes dies. Marquez learns he has been used, just as he has been trying to use Pilar, for Pilar is in fact penniless and Marquez is stuck with his bargain. The pious Pilar, who in her religious zeal practices self-mutilation, is brought to the Marquez household to live as Marquez's "daughter." Juan immediately falls in love with her; Pepe, however, finds marriage to a penniless bride intolerable and refuses to go through with the match. He later returns to Granada for a **corrida,** now supported by a wealthy American mistress. Physically debilitated by his dissolute life, he is fatally gored in the arena during the novel's climactic fight.

Steen's descriptions of the bullfight are sound, and she is comfortable in her technical knowledge of the **corrida.** She knows what **is** good bullfighting. When kept under control, her prose can convey the atmosphere and color of the Spanish locale. Some of the best writing in the book is to be found in her depiction of a Spanish wedding in a backwater pueblo.

Written in 1934, the novel presents what have become conventional episodes. Steen's attempt to provide a philosophical and aesthetic basis for the bullfight, however, is strained and unconvincing. Steen seems uncertain of her own stance toward the **corrida**, but nevertheless feels compelled to convince the reader that it is more than a local sporting event. A philosopher, for example, explains that "The bullfight . . . is the greatest tragedy since the Crucifixion." (p. 78) It is essential to the vitality of the Spanish character: "the bull-fight is the only thing which remains to preserve the moral integrity of Spain. It is the principal source of our manhood, our patriotism, and our pride." (p. 79)

The figure of Pepe is a conventional one of a dissipated matador, though it is never indicated that his dissipation is a reaction to his fear of the bulls. He stands in contrast to his father, who, though just as egotistical, possessed the self-discipline to direct his behavior always toward attaining success as a matador. Pepe, on the other hand, indulges himself freely. He is constantly drinking and whoring, and is constantly in debt. As a matador he affects the gay Sevillan style, yet he is cold and unable to arouse the spectators. He relies on trickery and the taking of foolish risks to win applause. When he returns to the Marquez house for his fight in Granada, he is an arrogant, swaggering, third-rate matador.

What puts the novels of Steen in a category by themselves, however, is their attempt to examine a wide range of human emotions and issues than is normally found in the **corrida** novel. Old Marquez, for example, remains in retirement selfish, egotistical, and obsessed with preserving the family's taurine honor at all costs. In his obsession, he subjects his youngest son, Juan, to painful humiliations.

Juan is a sensitive aesthete. He detests the bullfight and dreads having to accompany his father to the fights. One of his greatest mortifications occurs when his father, in the company of his bullfight companions, has Juan serve the testicles of the bull as a cooked delicacy. In front of everyone, Juan vomits.

Juan tries to reassure himself that his hatred for the bullfight is not due to fear. Trying to find his courage, he visits the Alhambra late at night to prove he is not afraid of the dark passageways redolent of superstition. Later he jumps from a wall and injures himself. The leap is an attempt to find a way of excusing himself from attending the next bullfight, but it is also an affirmation of his courage, and a penance for the guilt feelings he has for not being a dutiful son.

Juan acknowledges the beauty of the **corrida**. But what ruins the artistic potential for Juan is his knowledge of what takes place behind the scene, those necessary but unpublicized parts of the bullfight. "It was the idea that so much had to be broken and degraded and made vile to furnish a spectacle for a mob that never realized anything but what went on under its eyes." (p. 196)

Juan's sexual innocence is overplayed. Despite appropriate opportunities, he retains his virginity. Thus he is symbolically pure of spirit when he falls in love with Pilar on first meeting her. The story of the relationship between old Marquez, Pilar, and Juan is laced with sentimental melodrama. Juan now has another reason to fear his father, as he secretly addresses his love poems to Pilar. The old man sees Pilar as a possible bride for himself.

Pilar represents the excessive self-abnegation of Spanish religious fervor. She is extremely pious, and obsessed with the need to do penance. She experiences mystical trances. Guilt-ridden, but compliant, in the deception of old Marquez, she mutilates herself by ripping her breasts with thorns. Though she knows she will be unhappy as Pepe's wife, she is willing to accept and submit as part of her penance. Eventually she becomes for old Marquez a means of his own spiritual redemption, and hence he must jealously protect his relationship with her, even to the point of alienating his own son.

Miguel is the most interesting of the brothers. He has left the seminary and renounced the Church. He has become a revolutionary eager to overthrow the present Church and state. He proselytizes his brother Juan, denouncing man's belief in a personal god. Instead he acknowledges only Power immanent in nature. The world holds no moral design. Man himself must assume the "true God-function . . . to benefit the world at large." (p. 207) Curiously, despite his anarchism, Miguel defends the **corrida** as an essential expression of Spanish valor.

The variety of characters suggests the unusual richness and depth of Steen's story as a novel of the **corrida.** Unfortunately this richness is attained partly by prolixity of style, and this excess, along with the lapses into sentimentality and moralizing, mar a potentially fine work.

Though more limited in focus and narrower in its range of themes, *The Bulls of Parral* nevertheless is an even longer work than *Matador*. The story follows the early life of Aracea Parral, heiress of the Parral estate and its bull breeding ranch. Through her early growth and development, Aracea is guided by her governess, Mary Carpenter, a British expatriate living in Spain during World War II. Aracea's father is a former matador with a great sense of family pride and honor. He takes care to turn out **toros bravos** worthy of the House of Parral. Aracea's mother is a retiring, long-suffering woman who has seen the deaths of several of her male children in infancy. It is she who determines to hire an English governess for Aracea, hoping to divert Aracea's attention from the bulls in which she is keenly interested. Doña Parral eventually enters a convent.

The main thrust of the story is the contrast between the careers of two matadors who were childhood friends. Paco, the son of a middle-class businessman, is provided encouragement and help from his father as he begins his career. Ildefonso is a lower-class urchin who must rely only on himself and his innate abilities. As the boys practice caping the calves during **tientas,** Paco cuts a finer figure in his boyish **trajes de luces,** but Ildefonso has the better style with the cape. Paco marries Aracea; Ildefonso marries a peasant girl.

Steen develops many ironies from this contrast. If they do not eventually fit into a consistent thematic statement, they nevertheless emphasize the social and human complexities Steen sees in the world of the **corrida.** For example, Paco's middle-class background, with its attendant advantages, is untypical in **corrida** fiction. Yet it is just this background that justifies his marrying Aracea. He is thus provided with the opportunity to plan his career as he wishes, a freedom old Marquez wanted for his son Pepe. Ironically, however, the Aracea-Paco marriage becomes shaky because Aracea is too independent, too liberated, and too powerful a woman to fit her expected role as a dutiful, long-suffering, child-breeding matador's wife. In a society which regards male dominance as essential to social stability, Paco is snickered at for permitting his wife to run the family affairs, even supervising his own training. The life of ease and luxury provided by Aracea's money cuts Paco off from the rigors of the matador's life. Resentful of this ostensibly un-masculine role, Paco drifts away from Aracea and indulges himself as he pleases.

Ildefonso cuts a more conventional figure of the matador. In his emaciated, dissipated condition he resembles an El Greco portrait. Without the advantages of Paco, he neverthless climbs to the top of his profession. And the public feels he has little time to live, for if the bulls do not kill him, his dissipation will.

Steen raises questions regarding role-playing and the qualities that produce a popular matador. Ildefonso seems wilfully set to destroy himself in order to project the image he feels the public expects, both inside and outside the ring. Though he reaches the top, he squanders his money and has nothing to show for the years of punishment he has subjected himself to. Paco, on the other hand, resents the fact that he never receives superlative reviews and is unable to inspire the crowds as Ildefonso does. He possesses the technique and skills but cannot convey the emotion that is the end product of art. His obsession to outshine Ildefonso drives him to seek a **mano a mano** with Ildefonso. Despite his determination and preparation, he is outperformed again and fatally gored. Thus Steen suggests, it is in that primitive peasant soul that feeling for the **corrida** is guarded and nurtured. Ildefonso retains his peasant nature and triumphs. Paco, having lost his roots and his Spanish manhood, is only a torero **manqué.**

In the end, Steen places this theme in a larger context, one that we have observed before. After Paco's death, Aracea blames her former British governess for what befell her and Paco. It was the governess who introduced Aracea to a different culture and an alternate set of social and moral values more liberal than those of her own country. Trying to assimilate these values and live in a culture still founded on rigidly prescribed codes of social and sexual conduct is impossible for the Spaniard. "It—it is like blood transfusion," Aracea says, "some groups belong only to themselves, others will mix. Spanish and English corpuscles don't . . . congeal . . . . That's what lost us our monarchy. That's what ruined Paco and me." (p. 428) Even Aracea's well-intentioned efforts to supervise her husband's training she now recognizes as incompatible with the nature of the **corrida:**

> "Did you realize that all the mistakes I was making were the things I'd learned from you?—'**Why** shouldn't bullfighters take as much care of themselves as British sportsmen? **Why** should they increase their risks by foolish habits away from the ring?' . . . I was too young to know that you cannot train an artist as you train an athlete. And you cannot make a cross between two cultures as different as yours and mine and produce something that isn't diseased!" (p. 427)

The final two novels to be considered are quite different from the conventional **corrida** novel. It might almost be said that they do not qualify as stories **about** the corrida, for neither bulls nor matadors are the main subject.

In *The Corrida at San Feliu,*[18] Paul Scott uses the **corrida** as a central metaphor unifying the narrative and thematic patterns of the novel. The "plot" of the novel is complex and convoluted. It presents the story of a distinguished sixty year old British novelist, Edward Thornhill, recently killed with his younger wife, in an automobile accident. The accident may have been deliberately caused by Thornhill, for he seems to have had his suspicions confirmed that his wife, Myra, has had an affair with a Spanish youth.

This information is presented in an "editor's preface" to a collect of Thornhill's last writings. Following the "preface" are four stories by Thornhill, all somewhat tentative and never finished for publication. The stories are based on incidents in the life of Thornhill, and three of them are variations of the same pattern—a betrayal of an older man by his younger wife. The major part of the novel consists of Thornhill's final work, completed just before his death. Entitled "Plaza de Toros," it is an account of his life with Myra as they vacation at a resort on the Costa Bravo.

Thornhill has come to Spain determined not to see the bulls. Yet he cannot resist reading the works on tauromachy which he finds in the study of the villa he has rented. He becomes quite knowledgeable about the **corrida,** and sees in its ritualized pattern a metaphor for life itself. Thornhill writes:

> The bullfight has been called a sport. It has been called a tragedy. It has been called Art. It has been said simply to illustrate life, and perhaps that is nearer the truth, because it is foreseeably to end in death, and what lies between the beginning and the end is therefore an exhibition of mystique and vanity. (p. 108)

Life is an "exhibition of mystique and vanity" because as Thornhill examines himself as man and as husband he recognizes his own failure to love unselfishly—a major theme of "Plaza de Toros" as well as Thornhill's other pieces. As he sits in the arena during the bullfight that concludes the novel, it occurs to Thornhill that "it would not have been difficult to have seen in the pattern of the corrida the whole pattern of a single human life. (p. 254) The pattern Thornhill sees is that of **his** own life.

Scott has developed this metaphor from the beginning of "Plaza de Toros." When he begins reading books on tauromachy, Thornhill is struck by the concept of the **querencia**, the spot of ground chosen by the bull as his own during the course of the fight. As he observes the developing affair between Myra and her Spanish "godling," Thornhill images himself in several roles. The three sip cocktails together and he describes himself as "an aging animal at the hour of **apértif,** observing these two others from the safety of his **querencia.**" (p. 192) He explains how a matador can exploit the bull's determination to return to the security of his **querencia** and fake daring passes. He admits that in his life and his writing "I have been faking it up with a cape for a long time. . . . Today the face in the mirror is that of a man who took the alternative years ago, who has killed well a few times and survived his frequent goring. It is upon the face rather than the thighs that I bear the visible scars of my cornados." (pp. 98-99)

Later Thornhill metaphorically becomes the bull itself being run by Myra's lover. He notes the purpose of the **banderilla negra,** but concedes "I didn't have to fear the placing of one by the godling: I had been pic-ed before he entered." (p. 139) As his suspicions regarding Myra and the godling grow, Thornhill "felt the prick of the darts of curiosity he lodged in my shoulder blades." (p. 141) When Myra and the godling invite him to attend a corrida, he imagines what it would be like to accompany the two:

> He [the godling] would take her arm to protect her, usurping my place, making it clear from the way he held her, guided her, that they had intimate knowledge of each other, that he felt he had earned the right to make this intimacy public, having that afternoon dedicated a bull to her, and killed it, and been awarded the ears. (p. 206)

When his suspicions seem fully confirmed, Thornhill sees himself as the picador's horse, which, though wounded by the bull, is unable to cry out in pain. (p. 211, 215)

Thornhill is compulsively driven to attend the **corrida** at San Feliu. During the course of it he explores the symbolic relationship between the corrida and his life and art. The possibilities are myriad and complex. "I could have seen," he notes, "in all that stylized tuppence-coloured ritual a reflection of my own penny-plain attempts to hold, on the page, moments of truth about less obvious but just as bloody human affairs." (p. 253) He could identify with several of the performers, with the bull, say. The bull will meet its death without understanding its purpose nor comprehending that ultimately his own nature has brought his downfall. So Thornhill imagines himself as matador facing the bull:

> Toro, Toro, now it is between us two; you in your querencia, I in mine. Come, come, follow the cloth. You are not alone. We all follow the cloth, we are all deluded. Too late you will find the cloth was nothing, that there was no enemy at all other than your own pride, your greed, your self-esteem. There is a sword behind the cloth, but that is nothing either, until you have fought yourself to a standstill and found that the cloth was nothing. Then you will see the sword. But not before. (p. 268)

As artist-matador, Thornhill admires the performance given by Antonio Ordóñez with a cowardly bull, a performance those around him do not appreciate. For Ordóñez, having pity for the bull, does not kill it quickly, as he might be expected to do. Rather he works and guides the bull, giving the bull confidence to put up a dignified fight. Ordóñez's compassion for the bull contrasts with Thornhill's inability to feel compassion for the humans whom he has used to produce his art. Ordóñez demonstrates with the bull the very qualities in his art which Thornhill, because of his pride and self-centeredness, has only pretended to show. His work has depicted only the illusion but not "the reality behind the illusion that a man can care for something other than himself." (p. 266) Only in Ordóñez's work with the recalcitrant bull does Thornhill glimpse what he has not been able to achieve in his work—to compel the crowd to see that the bull "was a creature like any other creature, entitled to pity if unable to inspire envy or admiration or any other kind of fellow-feeling." (p. 266)

In his own fantasy, Thornhill imagines himself as an ugly hunchbacked matador, playing the bull superbly but inspiring the crowd only to uproarious laughter.

The difficulty in comprehending the universal reality that art tries to mirror is absolute. If the corrida is symbolic of life, of the artist-matador attempting to mold form and meaning from the primitive nature of man-bull, to control and structure the pattern of life into a contemplatively meaningful and emotionally fulfilling unity, then art must inevitably fail. Thornhill writes: "there are always at least three fights going on at any one time in the plaza when a corrida is in progress: the fight the bull puts up, the fight the torero tries to conduct, and the fight the spectators think they see." (p. 252) Art like the corrida becomes subjective and fragmented in its interpretation. Like the matador, Thornhill has been waging a hopeless struggle to bind together his life, his work, and his audience into a transcendent whole.

We cannot hope to convey the complexity of Scott's novel here, and have been concerned only with Thornhill's relationship to the **corrida**. Its introspective plot, constantly turning back upon itself to re-introduce incidents from Thornhill's other stories (which in turn rework material from Thornhill's life) produces at times a feeling of immobility. Thornhill's candor, his self-confessional search for the truth about himself is painful, but not self-pitying. Scott's knowledge and description of the **corrida** are sound. But we do not read *The Corrida at San Feliu* for what it tells us about the bullfight, but for what it reveals about one man's search for meaning in his art.

Winner of the National Book Award in 1956, Wright Morris' *The Field of Vision*[19] is not strictly novel of the **corrida**. Morris' use of the **corrida** is similar to Scott's, and thus the novel merits some consideration here. The bullfight serves as a symbolic background by means of which Morris tries to reveal some pattern to the fragments of past memories within the consciousness of each character in his story. The characters will re-appear in a subsequent novel, *Ceremony in Lone Tree* (1960).

The Field of Vision concerns a family of midwestern Americans who while vacationing in Mexico meet a former friend and attend a bullfight. The McKee family consists of Walter, a cold, unimaginative husband whom Lois McKee married after an incipient love affair failed to materialize. Accompanying the McKees is Lois' father Scanlon, an old prairie settler who refuses to acknowledge the twentieth century, and their grandson, Gordon McKee. The family meets Lois's former suitor Gordon Boyd. Boyd, dementedly imaginative as a youth, has been a failure in life, despite his early energy and ambition. Boyd is accompanied by his psychoanalyst, Dr. Lehman, and Lehman's lifelong patient, Mrs. Kahler, a male transvestite. The story is told through the consciousness of each character as he watches the events on the arena floor, "the sanded navel of the world."

Morris' thematic foundation is the notion that reality is subjective, that each spectator in the plaza will see a different bullfight; his vision will reflect back upon himself:

> This crisp sabbath afternoon forty thousand pairs of eyes would gaze down on forty thousand separate bullfights, seeing it all very clearly, missing only the one that was said to take place. Forty thousand latent heroes, as many gorings, so many artful dodges it beggared description, two hundred thousand bulls, horses, mules and monsters half man, half beast. In all this zoo, the bloody constellation, only two men and six bulls would be missing. Those in the bullring. (p. 59)

Morris depicts with ease and apparent familiarity the action of the corrida. It is not the events on the sand that are important, but rather the memories from the past that these events trigger in the minds of the characters. The McKees, in fact, know little about what they are witnessing, and what they see are reflected fragments from their own past. Using a modified stream of consciousness technique, Morris ultimately weaves the fragments into a total pattern, perceived by the reader though not by the characters themselves.

Looking down for the first time on the ring below, McKee is reminded of a sandpit which was the setting of a play composed by Boyd many years ago. The play "purported to be about a walk on the water the young man in the play planned to get around to, but there was no more on the stage than there was in the bullring." (p. 11) The play, in fact, was one of the first of Boyd's failures. As McKee sees the bulls being killed he remembers the time in his youth when he was forced to kill a hog, an event which signalled his entrance into manhood. (pp. 125-126) The only time Lois McKee was sexually aroused in her life was when she was kissed one night by Boyd. Boyd never followed up his opportunity, and Lois has settled for a life with McKee. The kiss is pivotal in her life. When an **espontaneo** leaps into the ring to cape the bull and is ignominiously knocked down, Lois remembers Boyd's kiss and its impact on her.

Thus Morris uses the bullfight as a point of orientation for the introspective analysis of his characters. Ironically, however, the chronology and strict order of the bullfight are fragmented. Incidents recur, but are reflected differently from each consciousness. Morris weaves bullfight metaphors into the narrative throughout, though they are not as deeply embedded in the thematic pattern as they were in Scott's novel: "Boyd, with a little fancy cape work, had crossed the line" (p. 58); "He had take na goring, but he had cut one ear, nevertheless." (p. 109)

Broader symbolic implications are suggested by Dr. Lehman's view of the bullfight as an allegory, the atavistic union of man and bull into the minotaur. Boyd himself also recognizes this atavism in the bullfight. But for him it is the passion and elemental force behind the bullfight which is significant for man. This force has been submerged in Boyd; his passion is dead. He recalls watching children playing in the streets of New York and he recognizes now in their intense play the primordial forces found in the bullfight:

> But what had troubled Boyd was not what he saw, but that what he felt struck him as beautiful. . . . Like the bullfight, he kept coming back to it. What he saw might be vulgar or cruel, botched like the amateur's kill in the bullring, but the passion behind it, the force in the blow, the absurd risks, the belief in lost causes, had in it something that struck him as beautiful. What was it? Until he saw a bullfight, he didn't know. There he saw that the running of the small fry was the first running of the bulls. Every day a fresh collection of gorings, heroes, and the burial of the dead. (p. 197)

Of the novels we have examined, those of Paul Scott and Wright Morris represent the finest achievements. And yet while the **corrida** is essential to the structure of those works, they are not **about** the **corrida**. As for those novels which are more conventional in technique and subject, it is evident that enthusiasm and sound knowledge of tauromachy will not in themselves produce great fictional art. Admittedly these works vary widely in quality. Because of their often common themes, recurring narrative patterns and episodes, and often stereotypical characters, they form a loose **genre**. It is a **genre** which may not always awaken our profoundest spiritual instincts, but it does provide entertainment of a high order.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "The Bullfight," *Tales by Leigh Hunt*, ed. William Knight (London: W. Paterson & Company, 1891).

[2] Canto I, 1xxii-1xxx.

[3] Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* in *The Essential Hemingway* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 129. All subsequent citations are to this edition and are given in parentheses in the text. All citations to the subsequent novels will be made in the same way.

[4] *The Saturday Review of Literature*, XLI (August 16, 1958), 16.

[5] Rex Ingram, *Mars in the House of Death* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939).

[6] For an example of such desperation in a Spanish work, see Luis Spota, *The Wounds of Hunger*, tr. Barnaby Conrad (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

[7] Barnaby Conrad, *Matador* (New York: Macfadden-Bartell Corporation, 1970).

[8] Barnaby Conrad, *The Death of Manolete* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1958).

[9] Tom Lea, *The Brave Bulls* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1949).

[10] Peter Viertel, *Love Lies Bleeding* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1964).

[11] Charles Grayson, *Arena* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1958).

[12] See also Conrad's description of Pacote in *Matador*, p. 11.

[13] Barnaby Conrad, *The Innocent Villa* (New York: Random House, 1948).

[14] Robert Ramsey, *Fiesta* (New York: The John Day Company, 1955).

[15] Bill Murphy, *The Red Sands of Santa Maria* (New York: Dodd Mead, & Company, 1956).

[16] John Masters, *Fandango Rock* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959).

[17] Marguerite Steen, *Matador* (London: Victot Gollancz, Ltd., 1934); *The Bulls of Parral* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1954).

[18] Paul Scott, *The Corrida at San Feliu* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1964).

[19] Wright Morris, *The Field of Vision* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1974).

HORACE BUSHNELL: GENTLEMAN THEOLOGIAN

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The belief that written history reflects contemporary preoccupations is so general as to scarcely require documentation. Thus a book picked almost at random from the shelf begins: "Nothing in history is fixed in its interpretation. The historian is forever re-examining evidence or examining new evidence to develop new understanding of past events."[1] If this is true (and one should recognize that an accent on the influence of the present may itself be only a historiographical phase), it behooves historians to consciously develop and try out hypotheses on the data in their fields. Robert F. Berkhoffer has urged the incorporation of "sophisticated social theory and precise explanation into the writing of history," while sociologists and historians have been developing the concept of America as a mass society.[2] This essay represents part of a study which employs mass theory to help explain the life and thought of the nineteenth century preacher and theologian, Horace Bushnell.[3]

I

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century America exhibited the main characteristics of a mass society: social as well as geographical mobility, indicative of a stratified rather than class structure; relatively unstable institutions, notably the family, which approached the nuclear state; general literacy and receptivity to ideas disseminated by the popular press; and a democratic ideology stressing civil rights, equality of opportunity, and individual initiative. Obviously, Negro slaves, captives of an anachronistic caste system, as well as free Negroes and Indians who were hardly better off, constituted an exception.[4] A variety of functional "elites" appeared. Each activity considered important by society generated a group of individuals who provided leadership for the anonymous masses. Elite members attained position through superlative performance. Failure to function resulted in loss of elite status. A modern example might be a permanently injured member of a sports elite.

Of importance for this study are the nineteenth century political elite, the social-economic elite, consisting of wealthy commercial and financial families (who sometimes avoided the mass selections process by giving a helpful hand to relatives), and the cultural-intellectual elite. The latter group and the anonymous folk they represented were united by a code of manners or "gentility"—hence the appellation "gentry" elite. Their value system centered on the attributes of ladies and gentlemen rather than economic or political indices. To them, gentility was no mere polish, but the outward manifestation of an intrinsic morality. Manners were synonymous with moral character. Anyone who conformed to the moral code was accepted as a gentleman, and many occupations and a wide range of economic affluence were represented. Elites overlapped and often the same individual could be found in the political, social-economic, and gentry elites. But as the nineteenth century progressed the overly refined sensibilities of the gentlemen gradually incapacitated them for participation and leadership in America's mass society, and from a growing sense of alienation and impotence they voiced their stern disapproval of the political and social-economic elites. In the early years of the twentieth century the gentry elite disintegrated. While this represented something of a liberation it also deprived the intellectual of a social bond with his community.[5]

II

Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) has never suffered from neglect. Forceful and creative, he soon made a name for himself. But contemporaries wondered "what he meant", and what was he?[6] Although many scholars have tried to illuminate the real Bushnell, the definitive work remains to be published.[7] The hypothesis that Bushnell was a member of the gentry elite, subscribing to the norms of gentility, throws new light on his life and thought. Clearly, his deepest values involved an envisioned society of ladies and gentlemen. Within this social framework special motifs included intense nationalism and an organic theory of the family, church, and state.[8] Naturally the sociological hypothesis is most relevant to Bushnell's social and political ideas; but it also applies to the subject of this essay, Bushnell's theology. I contend that Bushnell passed through three phases: "naturalism," "soft dualism," and "hard dualism." In the first he saw essentially good humans progressing under a benign God to ever higher levels of felicity. He stressed reason, nature and the development of moral character. In the second phase Bushnell completed a dualistic world view which rationalized his liberal "comprehensive" methodology. With increasing ill health, public criticism, the trauma of Civil War, and the decline of the gentry elite, Bushnell moved into a "harder," more Calvinistic, version of the dualism.

Bushnell's religious growth began in a western Connecticut farm home where formerly Methodist and Episcopalian parents took their six children to the nearby Congregational Church, but at home softened the stern Calvinism with warm Christian nurture.[9] Dotha Bushnell has destined her first born, Horace, for the ministry and he dutifully joined the church as a "social" thing, and entered Yale College in 1823. There religious faith fell victim to a "cold" rationalism, and after graduation Bushnell briefly tried teaching and journalism before returning to Yale as a law student. He also became a tutor, providing instruction, guidance and discipline for underclassmen, in which capacity he was eminently successful, his young charges literally sitting at his feet. At this point a revival swept the college, placing the young rationalist in a quandry. The revival preachers demanded an emotional conversion and most of Bushnell's young followers waited to see what he would do. For some time he held back from this alien force. Finally he concluded that morality and the welfare of his students required conversion. Moreover, he enrolled in Yale Divinity School as his mother had urged all along.[10]

That Bushnell had accepted the norms of gentility is apparent in a farewell address to his students in which he advised them to always aim for "perfection of character" which consisted of intelligence and "good manners, habits and principles." These attributes are essential because "there is a difference between a gentleman and an educated brute." Bushnell admitted that his theology consisted only of a belief in "the immortality of the human mind" and "accountability."[11] Although he had much to learn he had intelligence and a gentleman's morality.

As Bushnell edged into New England's religious mainstream he found theologians exercised over some fundamental issues. The argument revolved around the paradox of a God, by definition omnipotent and omniscient, holding one of his Creatures, by observation sinful and wicked, responsible for this condition. The Yale professors, and others, looked for a **via media** between orthodox Calvinists who stressed God's sovereignty and man's depravity, and the schismatic Unitarians with their benign God and wholesome human. For instance Nathaniel W. Taylor wrote that depravity was man's free choice of some object rather than

God as his chief good, and it was man's nature that he would sin "in all appropriate circumstances."[12] The New Haven school employed governmental terms, a prevailing interest of the day. God became a constitutional monarch ruling through established laws. Lyman Beecher defined moral government as, **"The influence of law upon accountable creatures.** It includes a lawgiver, accountable subjects, and laws intelligibly revealed, and maintained by rewards and punishment."[13]

Talk of free will, accountability, and moral governments alarmed the conservatives who insisted upon maintaining God's sovereignty and man's depravity, and icily polite letters, pamphlets, articles, and books agitated the theological atmosphere. Gardiner Spring, for instance wrote that infants were sinners from the very moment of their creation, and there was no recourse but to wait for an inscrutable God's decision.[14]

Bushnell averred years later that he had joined no theological school, but gradually developed a "comprehensive" method designed to incorporate the essentials of all sides.[15] This proved useful at his first and only position, Hartford's North Church (Congregational), where in 1833 he found himself "daintily inserted between an acid and an alkali," meaning conservatives and liberals.[16] An early sermon exemplifies the comprehensive technique. The minister emphasized that humans possessed absolutely no natural ability to achieve holiness. "If we speak on natural ability to good, a soul has no more natural ability to maintain the state of perfect goodness, than a tree to grow without light, or heat, or moisture."[17] Like all natural things, man is dependent on God's will. Clearly, Bushnell's version of regeneration is virtually synonymous with natural progress. The references to depravity serve as verbal tranquilizers for the orthodox. A few conservatives left North Church, and Deacon Seth Terry expostulated with his pastor, gravely informing him that he would tell a child "that he was all the time sinning and rebelling and that he must yield himself to God as a sacrifice, and that nothing short of that will avail."[18] But the young minister's naturalistic orientation agreed with most of his members and, gaining confidence, he urged them to emulate God, who had worked with infinite "patience of detail" to set the universe moving under natural laws. "The importance of living to God in ordinary and small things is seen in the fact that character, which is the end of religion, is in its very nature a growth."[19]

During this period Bushnell closely associated God, man, and nature, and he saw man progressing under a benevolent God to ever higher levels of individual and social perfection. He would not say, with Leibnitz, that he lived in the "best of all possible worlds," but he did believe that the United States held God's special mandate to develop an organic society of ladies and gentlemen which would be a model for the world. The only times that the gentleman spoke distinctly of human depravity was when he attacked the political and social-economic elites for their ungentlemanly behavior, which he believed hindered the development of individual character and thus endangered social stability and the Union itself.[20]

The first of the "moral uses" sermons appeared in the 1840's. Employing a lively imagination Bushnell showed how God had designed nature to aid moral development. "The Great Time Keeper," had deliberately adjusted the cycles of the universe to impress each human with the necessity of constantly tending to his character. "The sun returns to his place, and says to all that live—I have given you now another year. The conscience hears his report, and says—what now have I done with this year?[21] God made the sea expressly to expediate human progress, and he sends stormy Sundays to invigorate and spur man on to greater things.[22] In a more sober period Bushnell republished the sermon on the sea with some new essays as *Moral Uses of Dark Things.* But the early sermons on God's design in nature might appropriately be called "Moral Uses of Bright Things."

Not surprisingly, Bushnell's liberal outlook included an ecumenical strain, which was, however, shadowed by his somewhat aggressive personality. He frequently employed invective for effect, and played upon popular prejudices. When in 1843 the Anglican Bishop Brownell of Connecticut delivered an address entitled "Errors of the Times," Bushnell responded with a more than slightly satirical article which threw him momentarily on the side of the revivalists, an awkward position for the gentleman.[23] But he felt he must answer Brownell's allegations that the Congregational Church overemphasized individualism, refused to regard infant baptism as a regenerating sacrament, and was beyond the pale of apostolic succession. The last charge was quickly disposed of, and Bushnell's call for freedom of conscience falls in the tradition of John Milton and John Stuart Mill. On baptism, forced to admit that the Bishop had "hit his mark," the gentleman maintained that he personally never neglected the nurture of children while waiting for God to move.[24]

Following the first signs of tuberculosis in 1845 Bushnell's church gave him a European vacation, and after visiting the Vatican the intrepid minister published a "Letter" to Pope Gregory XVI in which he variously appeared indignant, satirical, sanctimonious, and munificent.[25] He charged that Italian religious-civil government, with its "ambitious and greedy priesthood," retarded material progress, weakened the family institution, and ruined individual character. A promiscuous mix of anti-Catholic cliches masked the general thrust of the argument which was toward reason, truth, and freedom. Bushnell admitted that Protestantism was less than perfect, but with intellectual freedom truth would soon triumph.

> If it be uncomfortable to us all, still let it go on. If in this universal interfusion Protestantism is dissolved by Romanism, and this again by Protestantism; then, if it please God, let them dissolve, and it may be they will crystallize together. I will dare to trust anything to truth.[26]

Never much of a joiner, Bushnell did throw himself into organizing and promoting the Protestant League, which became the Christian Alliance. He envisioned a great coalescing of Protestants and liberal Catholics in Europe and America which would force Rome to modify its authoritarianism. He lectured, wrote letters, and issued public statements, but it came to nothing. In America conservative Congregationalists and Presbyterians were unhappy rubbing shoulders with Unitarians. In England Episcopalians and Dissenters looked askance at each other, and the Papacy refused to collapse (although Bushnell claimed it was weaker in Rome than Cincinnati).[27]

Bushnell drew his first serious criticism when he delivered an oration entitled, "A Discourse on the Moral Tendencies and Results of Human History," before the Yale Alumni Association.[28] A scholarly audience provided an opportunity to delineate his monistic world view, an example of nineteenth century natural progress with Hegelian overtones. Few persons can have helped noticing, he said, a universal law which is simply, "What is physical first, what is moral afterward." Through human language, which is based on natural things and actions, "the physical world takes a second and higher existence . . . in the empire of thought." Even religion begins with physical demonstrations like sacrifices, priesthoods, and idols, "but in the later ages God is a spirit; religion takes a character of intellectual simplicity and enthrones itself in the summits of the reason."[29] With a nod to the conservatives, Bushnell denied that his was a philosophy of "mere natural progress," because it included "the world with all God's supernatural working, that of his Providence, that of his Spirit all Christianity, in fact, included in it." He rhapsodized about the coming day when liberty and equality would come into their own; politics, ceasing to be synonymous with "cunning," would become rational and moral; and war would be no more.[30] Like Emerson, he asserted that no one was "ever inspired through his memory. The eye of genius is not behind." Implacable conservatives are like "owls flying toward the dawn and screaming, with dazzled eyes, that light should invade their prescriptive and congenial darkness."[31]

This was too much for Benet Tyler of the conservative Theological Institute of Connecticut, who under the pseudonym of "Catholicus" pounced upon Bushnell's address as full of "Rationalistic, Socinian and Infidel" tendencies.[32] It smacked dangerously of the ideas of David Hume, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Theodore Parker. (Bushnell had, in fact, recently spent an evening going "over the whole ground of theology" with Parker.)[33] Tyler complained bitterly about Bushnell's romance with naturalism, philosophy, and progress, and also about his "flippant" attitude toward the Holy Scriptures. He inquired if Bushnell preached to his flock like this. "Have you a double character, a Christian Teacher, and an infidel Philosopher?"[34]

Bushnell had no split personality but he was greatly interested in the formation of character. The series of articles that culminated in the famous *Christian Nurture* begin in 1838 when the still not solidly established minister cautiously dissented from revivalism.[35] He criticized the dualism which saw the comings and goings of a "desultory" God. The proper view was the "simple doctrine of God's omnipresence."[36] Not that God's spiritual agency was always uniform, for like the weather and seasons, "God's works and agencies necessarily involve variety and change," designed to "produce character" in His people.[37] The gentleman objected to "the artificial firework, the extraordinary, combined jump and stir," of revivals, and asserted that religion "must come to pass naturally, or emerge as a natural crisis of the ordinary if it is to have any consequence[38]

Bushnell presented in 1844 his "organic" theory of the family, church, and state.[39] Greatly impressed with the physical and social mobility, the rapid expansion, flux and change, of America's burgeoning mass society, with the corresponding theory of individualism, he felt compelled to redress the balance. He considered excessive social ferment, including the excitement of revivals, detrimental to individual character and conducive to a dangerous centrifugality that could tear asunder the nation.

To the family belonged the primary responsibility for producing stable citizens of moral character. He wrote that:

> . . . if we narrowly examine the relation of parent and child, we shall not fail to discover something like a law of organic connection as makes it easy to believe, and natural to expect, that the faith of one will be propagated in the other. Perhaps I should rather say, such a connection as induces the conviction that the character of one is actually included in that of the other, as a seed is formed in the capsule; and being there matured, by a nutriment derived from the stem, is gradually separated from it.[40]

The child begins life with a near **tabula rasa** conscience—as a "mere passive lump"—and Bushnell affirms that God includes infants "in the womb of parental culture, and pledges himself to them and their parents, in such a way, as to offer the presumption, that they may grow up in love with all goodness, and remember no definite time when they became subjects of Christian Principle."[41]

Some members of Bushnell's ministerial association requested that he discuss the topic with them, whereupon he delivered two discourses which were published by the Massachusetts Sabbath Society.[42] Then Bushnell's old nemesis, Benet Tyler, struck again, publishing a "Letter" which caused the Society to immediately suppress the book.[43] Undaunted, Bushnell added his two earlier articles and two new sermons as well as a long "Argument" to the discourses and published them as *Views of Christian Nurture and of Subjects Adjacent Thereto* (1847).

Bushnell had clearly shifted the responsibility for the salvation of coming generations from God to the American home. God still reigned, but the gentleman had transformed his lightning bolt into a benevolent glow. And Benet Tyler knew it. Again, as in 1843, he was concerned with tendencies "dangerous to the souls of men."[44] Tyler had little objection to Bushnell's practical Christian nurture; the theory was what bothered him. Parents should love and care for their children to the best of their abilities, but they must never presume that God will do anything in return. A blithe assumption that justification naturally accompanies nurture is a colossal error.

In his "Argument" Bushnell accused Tyler of fourteen years of harassment and dismissed his latest attack as being dependent "on a certain theory of depravity and regeneration that was debated . . . some fifteen years ago, and, as I believe, forever exploded."[45] He refused to be intimidated by the charge that he was a virtual Unitarian and stated that it was his method "to reach after the most comprehensive form of truth possible; to see how far I can dissolve into unity, in views I present, the conflicting opinions by which men are divided."[46]

III

Almost all Bushnell scholars, taking their cue from his daughter's biography, have noted that 1848 was a pivotal year.[47] He reached an intellectual-emotional peak that revolved around his search for a more satisfying world view which could be used to unify warring sects and, incidentally, make a greater name for himself.[48] Unity had always been a fundamental goal, whether it related to the family, church, or nation. He longed for a close-knit, genteel society.

He published early in 1848 a philosophical yet practical guide to the formation of an enlightened character.[49] It is to adults what his Christian nurture work is to children. Taking Victor Cousin's three "world views"—fairly typical of nineteenth century progress philosophy—as a key, Bushnell asserted that in a controversy truth always lay between the extremes of abstract infinity and the empirical finite. The third, middle view is neither complacent like liberalism nor vacuous like neutrality; rather it involves a positive search for the germ of truth in disparate human ideas and characteristics. Bushnell ran through a long list of polarities, including charity and censoriousness, faith and reason, and prudence and emotion. "The more numerous and repugnant the extremes of character, excepting those which are sinful, you are able to unite in one comprehensive and harmonious whole, the more finished and complete your character will be."[50]

What is remarkable about this article is the indication that Bushnell has adopted a dualistic methodology. However, ambiguity marks his metaphysic, because one cannot tell if he has retained his naturalistic monism or now sees the universe as

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divided into infinite-supernatural and finite-natural realms.

The minister's feverish search climaxed one cold February night in 1848. In the morning when his wife asked what he had seen he replied, "the gospel."[51] He immediately delivered a sermon entitled "Christ the Form of the Soul." He began: "What form is to body, character is to spirit," and then explained that the human soul shows its objective in character. By analogy, Christ is the finite form of infinite God. Sin spoiled the human soul, alienating man from God, who however, revealed Himself in Christ so that those who believe may begin the regeneration process.[52]

This dualism balances spiritual and natural realms. The human soul belongs with God in the spiritual half of the universe, while Man's objective form is part of nature. The fall caused God to emanate Christ the Savior to redeem lost souls. Ability balances depravity. Bushnell clearly states that sin inevitably deforms souls, but human reason reveals the path, through Christ, to salvation. The undertaking which represents a joint effort of God and man, provides a vital role for the God-man Christ.

As if by providence Bushnell received invitations to lecture at Harvard, Yale, and Andover. Although his daughter indicated this was purely coincidental, one might reasonably suspect that the inspired gentleman had a hand in making arrangements to be heard by leading Congregationalists and Unitarians. The resulting discourses, with an introductory language theory, were published as *God in Christ* (1848), which has long provided a lush field for scholarly exegetes. Mary Bushnell Cheney asserted that it was the "key . . . to the whole scheme of his thought," and Bushnell himself later wrote that it was "the setoff, so to speak, of all that I have done."[53]

The introductory language dissertation presents the framework of the new dualism. Language arose, he wrote, when humans named things and actions in the natural world. When they wanted to express their subjective thoughts or emotions it was necessary to use these same words, or their derivatives. Thus, language has two spheres: a natural one where words stand for things and actions, and an intellectual-spiritual one where the same words are used as signs or analogies to carry subjective thoughts and communicate them to others. Illustrations of the dual use of words include: "spirit," which originally meant breath or air in motion; "religion," from **re** and **ligo,** to bind back; "faith," from a tie or ligature; and "heart," of which the two meanings are obvious.[54]

Since language was not entirely exact in the natural realm—words refer only to categories, not individuals—how could it be exact in the intellectual or spiritual derivative? This is the main point: language is a nebulous and untrustworthy means of ascertaining and imparting spiritual truths. Words, imperfect carriers of ideas, cannot literally convey a thought from one mind to another, but are merely "hints," "images," or "analogies" for communication. Not only are words inexact, but

> they always affirm something which is false, or contrary to the truth intended. They impute **form** to that which is really out of form. They are related to the truth, only as form to spirit—earthen vessels in which the truth is borne, but always offering their mere pottery as being the truth itself.[55]

Thus far the theory smacks of naturalism or epiphenomenalism. If religious ideas are based on words that are only nautral, are the ideas only natural too? Bushnell avoided this by positing a "Divine Logos" which "weaves into nature types or images that have an inscrutable relation to mind and thought."[56] Theologians must thus engage in a semi-intuitional search through all language—Biblical, traditional, and current—for the hidden truth or "logos," Bushnell averred that a great deal of strife and confusion had resulted from failing to understand the nature of language. Literalists render themselves miserable, quarrelsome, and unproductive. By contrast, those like Coleridge and Goeth successfully mine nature's spiritual gold. "Poets, then, are the true metaphysicians, and if there be any complete science of man to come, they must bring it."[58] As statements of absolute truth, creeds are worthless. However, as a sly dig at the Unitarians, Bushnell remarked that he could not see why they held creeds in such a repugnance; personally, he could accept about as many as came his way, melt them down and extract their elements of truth.[59]

Bushnell did not suddenly discover the language theory; he had been interested in it and its mystical, romantic, ramifications since college days.[60] But in 1848 it became the foundation of his system, as a theory of knowledge and, more particularly, as it pertained to the trinity concept and the role of Christ. Bushnell argued that Christ was truly divine, different "in kind" from man, while at the same time the finite expression of infinite God.[61] The Godhead is a unity (three interior "persons" mock the reason) which, however, emanates three forms—the logos of the language theory. God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are forms of God, absolutely essential for human salvation. Bushnell hoped to please the orthodox with his argument for the divinity of Christ, and the Unitarians by insisting on the oneness of God. He failed to maintain a balance, however, because the logic of the language theory tended to reduce Christ to nature. Words, based on natural things, carry spiritual meanings. Just so, Christ is the natural vehicle for divine truth. To preserve Christ's holiness, Bushnell abandoned logic (a characteristic of his when reason proved inadequate) and produced an effusion of colorful emotional rhetoric, praising imagination while disparaging speculation about the person of Jesus.[62] He wants Christians to simply accept Christ, the Father, and the Holy Spirit, as supreme expressions of God.

> Thus we have three persons, or impersonations, all existing under finite conditions or conceptions. They are relatives and, in that view are not infinites; for relative infinites are impossible. And yet, taken representatively, they are each and all, infinites; because they stand for, and express the Infinite, Absolute Jehovah.[63]

He called his concept an "Instrumental Trinity" because of its effectiveness in making an infinite God understandable without any reduction in His majesty.[64]

Turning to Christ's atonement on the cross Bushnell again attempted to mollify conservatives by acknowledging the absolute necessity of God in Christ on the cross. "Reason as we may about human depravity, apologize for men, or justify them as we may, they certainly do not justify themselves."[65] Bushnell classified the Old Testament institution of sacrifice and related words like "curse," "blood," and "wrath," so dear to conservatives, with the "objective" or "ritualistic" side of Christianity. These "altar forms," like other natural things, are the vehicles for "subjective" spiritual verities. Without these natural, but logos carrying acts and words, humans would have had no way of comprehending and expressing the spiritual meaning of the atonement—the ultimate expression of God's love and law. "Thus, instead of a religion before the eyes, we now have one set up in language before the mind's eye."[66]

The language dissertation and the first two discourses are complex and uneven, the explanation given here revealing little more than the dualistic skeleton which rationalized a genteel mysticism while attempting to combine conservative and liberal views of the trinity and atonement. Bushnell began the third and concluding discourse with a long harangue against "mere natural reasons," "speculations," "philosophy," "theology," "logic," and other terms associated with ratiocination. He employed a variation of the dualism to balance objective, natural reason with a subjective "faith" side. According to the language theory, spiritual truths arise only from natural things, but now Bushnell circumvents nature's logos-carrying forms with direct inspirations.[67] He celebrates the "inner light," "religion of the heart," and other visions. He even espoused a kind of antinomianism: those truly in the spirit could judge those not similarly blessed.[68] But the gentleman still had little use for the "rawness and passion" of revivals.[69]

Bushnell frequently misled readers through over-emphasis. In this instance he merely wanted to negate dogmatic theology and balance reason with inspiration. Jonathan Edwards had explained over one hundred years earlier that,

> there is a difference between having an opinion that God is holy and gracious, and having a sense of the loveliness and beauty of that holiness and grace. There is a difference between having a rational judgment that honey is sweet, and having a sense of its sweetness.[70]

Bushnell also used poor judgement in closing his book with an attack on the Calvinists who held the "penal substitution" view of the atonement, making Christ a "paymaster" suffering God's wrath in man's stead. The conservatives also exaggerate human depravity. "They come before God in confessions of sin, so extravagant . . . that if a fellow man were to charge upon then what they confess, they would be mortally offended[71]

> He mixes up in his volume the most incongruous materials. He is rationalist, mystic, pantheist, Christian, by turns, just as the emergency demands. He is extravagant to the extreme of paradox. He adopts, on all the subjects he discusses, the long exploded heresies of former centuries, and endeavors to cover them all with the gaudy mantle of the new philosophy.[72]

Bushnell's theory of the trinity was called Unitarian or Sabellian; he was accused of denying that Christ's person contained both divine and human elements; and it was alleged that he had subverted the truth of the atonement as a propitiation of God. These points, plus a general having controverted scriptural authority and credal confessions, became the basis of the heresy campaign.[73]

Because of Congregational decentralization, the difficulty of defining orthodoxy, and the ambiguity of Bushnell's book, he escaped a heresy trial. Undoubtedly he was not orthodox; his system related to nineteenth century philosophical idealism and American transcendentalism. The language theory was based on a "soft" supernatural-natural dualism, with the logos concept giving the impression of pantheism. The Calvinists were understandably distressed with what appeared to be an Emersonian "transparent eyeball" in their very midst. Although they failed to appreciate it, what they had seen was a unity minded gentleman attempting to forge a system that would satisfy all reasonable men.

IV

Philosophical dualism had provided Bushnell, as it had Immanuel Kant and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, an escape from naturalism.[74] The new system balanced natural and supernatural realms and provided a role for Christ as the savior of sinful man. Although the two spheres were distinct, nature contained signs or analogies of the supernatural; and although man was a fallen creature, he was not radically depraved, and salvation was a rather benign process.

In the 1850's a harsher note began to appear in Bushnell's thought. According to the version of mass theory presented here the gentry elite gradually found itself the loser in the competition for the mass mind, and as the brash political and social-economic elites coalesced before and after the Civil War the gentlemen vented their frustrations in ways appropriate to their individual personalities.[75] In Bushnell's theology it appeared as a more other-worldly orientation coupled with an accent on sin. Other factors contributing to the growth of Bushnell's "hard dualism" included the heresy controversy which showed how spiteful ministers of God could be; his increased suffering from tuberculosis, the disease that eventually claimed his life; and the Civil War which he saw as a "bloody baptism" for sinful men.[76]

By 1854 Bushnell was criticizing both Unitarians and "pantheists" (transcendentalists) and presenting a more orthodox version of the trinity. God expresses himself in three ways, which is "as truly inherent in him, as if it were the form of his divine substance itself."[77] He asserted that with Unitarians

> There is . . . discovered an almost irresistible tendency to naturalism, and so to a loss or dying out of all that distinctively constitutes the gospel. God is the king of nature, and nature is the inclusive name of all that constitutes His dominion. There is, in fact, no legitimate place for anything but nature. Sin is softened, depravity ignored.[78]

He mocked the "new kind of gospel" that "preaches not so much a faith in God's salvation as a faith in human nature; an attenuated, moralizing gospel that proposes development, not regeneration."[79] Bushnell remained a Christian gentleman to the end, but in his later years he saw that character was not enough. Supernatural intervention was the necessary correlate of his growing religious faith and disenchantment with the natural goodness of man.

The minister bluntly told his church members, most of whom were probably ladies and gentlemen according to the standards of gentility, that they were highly susceptible to "respectable sin," which was only different in degree from the vice and crime occurring outside their polite circles of character and decency. Virtue is not necessarily sinless, he said, if it means merely abstaining from what society calls evil, oblivious to the spirit and love of God.[80] When forced by ill health to resign his pastorate, Bushnell delivered a farewell sermon in which he noted that the North Church had greatly increased in numbers and wealth. However, he regretted what he now saw as his overly rational approach to religion, and he warned his congregation to resist the encroachment of a "destructive and vapid liberalism."

> Assert, above all, and stand by the assertation of, a supernatural gospel; for there is, in fact, no other, and whoever scorns or only disowns such a gospel, let him be to you as a heathen man and publican—deist, pantheist, pagan, but no Christian.[81]

However, Bushnell was an incurable rationalist. He had praised intuition and celebrated direct inspirations, but always within the context of a logical system. In the 1850's his concern that naturalism would dissolve the supernatural realm resulted in *Nature and the Supernatural* (1855), a long, complex book. Bushnell argues that there is a supernatural realm, separate from nature, but intimately associated with it. He defines nature as the realm of cause and effect, an absolutely lawful succession of events determined from within the system. By definition, the supernatural is that which impinges upon nature from without. There is no need to look for the supernatural in ghostly apparitions, for it can be seen in man's conscious free-will acts, by which he enters into nature as an uncaused force, producing new combinations and results. Man first used his freedom sinfully, spoiling his soul and reducing nature to a state of "unnature." Only God's intervention in the form of Christ and other manifestations can regenerate both the human soul and nature.[82]

The argument rests on the assertion of human free-will and sin. If it can be shown that humans, as uncaused powers, impinge on nature, the existence of the supernatural is established; and if it can be shown that they act sinfully, ruining their souls and "unnaturing" nature, it should not seem incredible that God would intervene to rectify the damage. Bushnell needs to free man from both God and nature. In the former instance he used the traditional explanation that God wanted man to be a "power" capable of good and evil instead of a mere natural "thing." Interestingly, he must contradict Jonathan Edwards who had defended the sovereignty of God by denying human free-will. In the fullness of nineteenth century naturalism Bushnell needs to establish man's freedom to save God Himself. The argument is circular: God made a free "supernatural" creature capable of consciously meddling with nature and this proves that God's supernatural realm exists.[83]

Acutely aware of the naturalism inherent in evolutionary "development" theories, Bushnell argued that the seeds of life could never have sprung spontaneously from the earth, and no transitional forms proving the mutability of species had ever been discovered. He relied mainly on Louis Agassiz in arguing that a vast gulf separated man from the highest animals, and that each form of life was implanted by God.[84]

Consciousness, the linch-pin of the argument, tells the story. Whatever logic or science may indicate, man is conscious of himself as a free agent. "Find what the consciousness testifies and that, all tricks or argument apart, is the truth."[85] But is he a sinner, standing in absolute need of salvation? Bushnell answers with an emphatic "yes." His first illustration of a human supernatural act is of a murderer who "is hung for what is rightly called his unnatural deed." Say what you will about the environment. Speak of poor families, bad education, and deprivations of all sorts. Excuse and rationalize sin. But remember that "we are all conscious of acting from ourselves, uncaused in our action. The murderer knows within himself that he did the deed, and that nothing else did it through him. . . . The sentence of consciousness is final."[86]

There is much else in *Nature and the Supernatural*, some of it extremely archaic sounding, like Bushnell's use of his language theory to show how God filled the world with repulsive, "analogies" of the sin in man's soul.[87] The gentleman, looking through his non-rose colored dualistic glasses, is now in no danger of melding man, nature, and God in a pantheistic "transparent eyeball," Bushnell's landscape contains a fallen race, despoiling nature, which in turn reflects in its many dark and dreadful aspects the ruined state of the human soul. And only God's intervention can right the wrong.

Paradoxically, at about this time Bushnell began preparing an expanded version of his naturalistic Views of Christian Nurture. In addition to the original chapters, virtually unchanged, it contains a great deal of new "self-culturing" material. The explanation includes the fact that Bushnell always had great concern for the family as the prime inculcator of character: he never eschewed loving care for children with their innocent failings as compared to old "confirmed" sins. He hoped that readers would "comprehensively" balance his "soft" theology with the late "harder" material.[88]

Although he wryly complained about being "pelted all round" by both liberal and conservative reviewers,[89] he returned with undiminished comprehensiveness to atonement theory in his last major works, *The Vicarious Sacrifice* (1866), and *Forgiveness and Law* (1874), the latter being republished by his heirs as *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, Vol. II. In the early parts of the 1866 work Bushnell presented a "moral" view of the atonement which associated Christ on the cross with such supernatural humans as Socrates and Lincoln.[90] The treatment is remarkably "soft." Love is the theme. Man is so little sunk in sin that superior individuals can approach divine goodness, and the average human is saved through a beautiful act of love. But the tone grows harder. Bushnell employs his dualism to distinguish between the "law before government" and "law by government." The former, sometimes called the "law of right and love," is related to ideal absolutes like time, space, and number, existing even before God's will. When man sinned, spoiling his soul and loosening confusion in the world (the state of "unnature" of *Nature and the Supernatural*), God instituted government by law. In its various manifestations, it trains recalcitrant humans in loyalty to the absolute law before government.[91] Such are the Old Testament institutions and language forms rising from them like "atonement," "propitiation," and "expiation," which should be interpreted as cleansing "lustral" figures, presaging Christ's supreme act on the cross. Bushnell asserts that he wants no picture of Christ as

> offering only sweets for motivities, and bathing in soft odors and oily promises the obstinacy of sin. No! The Christ of the old gospel, he of eternal punishment, he of the judgement-day—the more I think of him, and of man, and the kind of Savior man requires to get hold of him, and rouse him out of his death-torpor in sin, the more clear it is that he, the terrible Christ, is the Christ we want.[92]

Concerning eternal punishment and annihilation of souls, the stern gentleman says that he is aware of the disappointment he may "inflict on certain progressives, or disciples of the new gospel, but after much struggle he has concluded that these are fundamental to the Christian religion."[93] The topic seems to hold a deadly fascination, for he holds it, examining it from every angle and in every light, like a child who has picked up a strange shell on the beach. He rejects annihilation of the wicked, almost accepts it, then resolves the problem mathematically through an analogy of the asymptote line which inexorably approaches a curve but never reaches it. He suggests the possibility that incurably bad souls may spin through eternity on the asymptote line, neither saved nor extinguished.[94]

As before, conservatives declined to play the old heretic's game. One crisply remarked that Bushnell "runs with the hare and chases with the hounds."[95] Younger liberals regarded him as **sui generis** and appropiated those elements congenial to their views while disregarding the rest. Meanwhile, slowed by deteriorating health but inspired by "new light," Bushnell continued work on the atonement. Earlier he had associated man with God through consciousness (*Nature and the Supernatural*), and the ideal law of right and love (*The Vicarious Sacrifice*). Now, in his last book, he used "propitiation" as a characteristic common to man and God. Just as man initially feels "disgusts, indignations, revulsions," toward an enemy, then, when propitiated or reconciled, suffers inwardly for him, God does the same. Christ's life and sacrifice reveals God's propitiation of Himself through His suffering identification with sinful mortals.[96] Bushnell shifts the content of his dualism. Whereas earlier he had divided God's law into the supernatural law before government and the natural law by government, now he speaks only of "the law" as part of nature's harsh discipline. Christ's commandments, directed to man's feeling and conscience rather than rational expedience, fill the subjective realm. They are to faith as law is to works. This is the gentleman's last comprehensive statement. He combines the love of God with severe discipline for sinful humans, and ministers may thus preach in a soft or hard vein as the occasion requires.

V

No story can ever be told in its entirety; but through sympathetic understanding and conscious hypotheses historians can more closely approximate the truth.

Bushnell's thought reflected his particular genius and the social and intellectual milieux within which he moved. Clearly, some of his most fundamental values stemmed from the "moral character" ideal which unified the nineteenth century "gentry elite," Bushnell always stressed gentility, but after 1848 he balanced correct behavior and morality with a subjective, otherworldly strain. Although a shift "from piety to morality" characterized New England theology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Bushnell reversed the process. His theology, of course, was less reflective of his social position than it is of such intellectual currents as naturalism, progress theory, Transcendentalism, and Calvinism.

It is not wrong to refer to Bushnell as a liberal precursor of the social gospel,[97] if one also notes the Calvinism in his later thought.[98] If Bushnell "Transcendentalized" Calvinism[99] he qualified his mystical, pantheistic tendencies with a more orthodox dualism. Perhaps the most accurate characterization of Bushnell would be as a unity minded gentleman who attempted to provide religious, moral, and intellectual leadership for America's burgeoning mass society.

FOOTNOTES

[1] From the Foreword by James P. Shenton, in William Barney, *The Road to Secession: A New Perspective on the Old South* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. ix. Hans Meyerhoff comments, ". . . every age, and every historian, looks upon the past from a different perspective," in *The Philosophy of History in Our Time* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), p. 21.

[2] Robert F. Berkhoffer, Jr., *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 4.

[3] I am indebted to Professor Stow Persons for introducing me to mass theory, which I used as a unifying orientation in my "Horace Bushnell: An American Christian Gentleman," Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1970. See Stow Persons, *The Decline of American Gentility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), and two earlier articles by Persons: "The Origins of the Gentry," in Robert Brenmer, ed., *Essays on History and Literature* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1966), and the pamphet, *The Gentry in the United States* (Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1970). See also: Daniel Bell, "The Theory of Mass Society; a Critique," *Commentary*, XXII (July, 1956), 75-83; *Daedalus* 89 (Spring, 1960); Philip Olson, ed., *America as a Mass Society* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963). For a pioneering application of mass theory to history see: Leo Lowenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society* (Englewood Cliffe, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961).

[4] Persons, *The Gentry in the United States*, p. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-6, 10.

[6] "Omicron," *What Does Dr. Bushnell Mean?* (Hartford: Case Tiffany and Col, 1849); Leonard Bacon, "Concerning a Recent Chapter in Ecclesiastical History," *The New Englander*, XXXVIII (September, 1879), p. 702.

[7] Mary Bushnell Cheney presented her father as a great liberal in *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880). A dedicated follower, Theodore Munger, tended to make his mentor over in his own liberal image in, *Horace Bushnell: Preacher and Theologian* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1900). Barbara Cross's *Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), a clever but shallow work, confusingly melds Bushnell's ideas with the social milieu. For a list of other biographies, dissertations, and articles see the Bibliographical Essay in my dissertation mentioned in Note 3.

[8] See Howard Barnes, "The Idea That Caused A War: Horace Bushnell Versus Thomas Jefferson," *Journal of Church and State* (Winter, 1974).

[9] Cheney, *Life and Letters*, p. 28.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

[11] Handwritten manuscript in Yale Sterling Library.

[12] H. Sheldon Smith, *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 106.

[13] Quoted in Sidney E. Mead, *Nathaniel William Taylor: Connecticut Liberal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 125-126.

[14] Smith, *Original Sin*, pp. 134, 102.

[15] Horace Bushnell, *Twentieth Anniversary: A Commemorative Discourse Delivered in North Church* (Hartford: Elihu Greer, 1835), pp. 12-13.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[17] Horace Bushnell, *Sermons for the New Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), p. 373.

[18] Cheney, *Life and Letters*, p. 92.

[19] Bushnell, *Sermons for the New Life*, p. 292.

[20] Barnes, "Idea That Caused A War," p. 74, and "Horace Bushnell," Chap. II.

[21] Horace Bushnell, "The Great Timekeeper," *The National Preacher*, XVIII (January, 1844), p. 4.

[22] Horace Bushnell, *A Discourse on the Moral Uses of the Sea* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1845), and "Uses and Duties of Stormy Sundays," *The American Pulpit*, II (October, 1846).

[23] Horace Bushnell, "Review of the Errors of the Times," *The New Englander,* II (January, 1844), pp. 143-175.

[24] Ibid., pp. 173-174.

[25] Horace Bushnell, *Building Eras in Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp. 356-385.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[27] Cheney, *Life and Letters,* p. 106. See also, Horace Bushnell, "The Evangelical Alliance," *The New Englander,* V (January, 1847), pp. 102-125.

[28] Reprinted as "The Growth of Law," in Horace Bushnell, *Work and Play* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-121.

[32] "Catholicus" (Benet Tyler), *A Letter to Dr. Bushnell of Hartford on the Rationalistic, Socinian and Infidel Tendency of Certain Passages in His Address Before the Alumni of Yale College* (Hartford: Henry S. Persons, 1843).

[33] Cheney, *Life and Letters,* p. 108.

[34] Tyler, *Letter,* p. 19. In a crisp reply to Tyler in the *Religious Herald* (December 20, 1843), Bushnell wrote that he was not frightened because one of the "ecclesiastical owls" had lighted upon him.

[35] Horace Bushnell, "Spiritual Economy of Revivals of Religion," *The Quarterly Christian Spector,* X (February, 1838), pp. 131-148, reprinted in *Views of Christian Nurture and of Subjects Adjacent Thereto* (Hartford: Edwin Hunt, 1847), pp. 123-146.

[36] Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture,* pp. 124-127.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-134.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-141.

[39] Horace Bushnell, "The Kingdom of Heaven as A Grain of Mustard Seed," *The New Englander,* II (October, 1844), pp. 600-619, reprinted as "Growth Not Conquest, The True Method of Christian Progress," in *Views of Christian Nurture,* pp. 147-181. See also, Barnes, "Idea That Caused A War," passism.

[40] Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture,* p. 165

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Horace Bushnell, *Discourse on Christian Nurture* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1846).

[43] Benet Tyler, *Letter to Rev. Dr. Bushnell on Christian Nurture* (East Windsor Hill, June 7, 1847).

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 7.

[45] Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture,* p. 89.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[47] Cheney, *Life and Letters,* p. 191.

[48] Cross, *Horace Bushnell,* makes too much of Bushnell's social ambitions.

[49] Horace Bushnell, "Christian Comprehensiveness," *The New Englander,* VI (January, 1848), 81-111, reprinted in Bushnell, *Building Eras,* pp. 386-459.

[50] Bushnell, *Building Eras,* p. 410.

[51] Cheney, *Life and Letters,* p. 192.

[52] Horace Bushnell, *The Spirit in Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), pp. 39-40.

[53] Cheney, *Life and Letters,* pp. 203, 552-553.

[54] Horace Bushnell, *God in Christ,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), pp. 20-25, 39.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 43 .

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

[60] Cheney, *Life and Letters.*

[61] Bushnell, *God in Christ,* pp. 122-128.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 173.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[67] Fred Kirschenmann, "Horace Bushnell: Cells or Crustacea?" in Jerald C. Brauer, ed., *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 67-89, incorrectly stated that Bushnell allowed for no direct inspirations (pp. 75-76).

[68] Bushnell, *God in Christ*, pp. 342-343.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280, 294-295, 348-349.

[70] Quoted in Clarence H. Faust and Thomas H. Johnson, *Jonathan Edwards, Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1962), p. 107.

[71] Bushnell, *God in Christ*, pp. 344-345.

[72] *The Princeton Review*, XXI (April, 1849), p. 296.

[73] The best summary of the heresy controversy is, Edwin Pond Parker, *The Hartford Central Association and the Bushnell Controversy* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard Col., 1896).

[74] Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), pp. 254-276. Bushnell said that Coleridge had influenced him more than any other non-scriptural author (Cheney, *Life and Letters*, p. 499).

[75] See Barnes, "Horace Bushnell." For a description of the excesses of the social-economic elite see Howard Mumford Jones, *The Age of Energy; Varieties of American Experience, 1865-1915* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), Chap. III.

[76] Cheney, *Life and Letters*, pp. 234-235; Bushnell, *The Spirit in Man*, pp. 179, 181, 287, 293; Horace Bushnell, *Sermons on Living Subjects* (New York: Scribner, *Armstrong and Col.*, 1877), pp. 406, 409, 416-417.

[77] Bushnell, *Building Eras*, p. 134.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[79] Bushnell, *Sermons for the New Life*, p. 65.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 330-333.

[81] Horace Bushnell, *Parting Words* (Hartford: L. E. Hunt, 1859), pp. 12, 15, 17-18.

[82] Horace Bushnell, *Nature and the Supernatural as Together Constituting the One System of God* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), Chap. I.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

[88] Horace Bushnell, *Christian Nurture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 13; *The Spirit in Man*, p. 88.

[89] Cheney, *Life and Letters*, p. 420.

[90] Horace Bushnell, *The Vicarious Sacrifice, Grounded in Principles Interpreted by Human Analogies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp. 172, 208-209, 218-219.

[91] *Ibid.*, pp. 233-240, 255, 257.

[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 362-363.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 333.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 341.

[95] *North American Review*, 102 (April, 1866), p. 558.

[96] Horace Bushnell, *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, Vol. II, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp. 40, 54, 63.

[97] Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 5.

[98] Fred Kirschenmann, *"The Doctrine of Sin in Horace Bushnell and Later Liberals,"* unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1964.

[99] Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 202.

MELVILLE'S PIERRE AS A BOOK OF SACRED TRUTH

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I

Herman Melville—The mystic mariner who became the literary discoverer of the South Seas, the aspiring genius who became renowned (for his fictional representation of his experiences among the cannibals) but, later, wrote works of **immoral morals** and, consequently, found himself contemptuously pushed into obscurity during his own lifetime—lived from 1819-1891. He added sixteen books to the stock of American literature of the Nineteenth Century. His novels, short stories and poems show that their author was chiefly interested in studying the ethical and psychic realities of human life. His inquiring mind, his assimilative and creative vision, kept gathering many facts about the discrepancy in human profession and action, and in God's reputation and His actual conduct. The inevitable consequence of his inquiries and analyses was a darkening of Melville's vision, because—as Melville had also read in the Ecclesiastes—"in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

Witnessing the obvious dichotomy of the results of human actions, Montaigne had inferred that man is all "patch" and "motley," but Melville's insight went deeper and analyzed the inner recesses of man's mind. To his grief, he discovered a mixture of good and evil inherent in the motivations for all actions. Unable to believe in Emersonian optimism, which maintained that evil is good in the making, Melville felt that evil has a tendency to encroach upon human endeavors at attaining the highest. Genuine innocence is possible only during infancy and early childhood:

> We lie in nature very close to God; and though, further on, the stream may be corrupted by the banks it flows through; yet at the fountain's rim, where mankind stand, there the stream infallibly bespeaks the fountain.[1]

As an individual advances in life, the societal demands—which Melville's English contemporary Wordsworth called "shades of the prison house"—begin to "close" upon him. As a result man's moral and psychic life becomes susceptible to dilemmas, repressions and ambivalence. A growing concern for these attitudes is manifested by Melville's writing. In *Typee*, his first novel (published when he was only twenty-six), the ectasy of the artist who felt fascinated by the pristine purity of the Typee valley and of Fayaway is explicit; so are the hints of an awareness of the barbarity of Western civilization. In Melville's later novels, wherein Fayaway is metamorphosed into a Yillah or an Isabel, it becomes increasingly impossible for Melville to maintain a sanguine tone, and for his heroes to escape a duality in their motives. In frustration they rave against Fate and God, until such raving causes them weariness and death. Insinuating remarks against God and the Christian faith become a necessary part of the narrative. *Pierre*, published in 1852, is a typical novel of this kind. In it the focus remains upon the hero's mixed motives and the confused and fatal actions generated by such duality.

Since the Melville revival in the 1920's, *Pierre* has been interpreted in a variety of ways. To Lawrance Thompson the novel is a projection of the author's "inverted" mysticism. It is "a satirical burlesque of moral allegory," representing the progressive stages of frustration of an "innocent" and "idealistic" young man who is eventually destroyed by "the combined malice of Heaven and Earth." Pierre's rejection of social bonds and of conventional Christianity has been cited as a proof of the author's obsession with the notion that the "truly perceptive individual is ultimately forced to declare his defiant independence from both God and man."[2]

Since the transition from adolescence to maturity held fascination for several nineteenth century writers, a whole host of critics have tried to place *Pierre* beside novels such as *The Ordeal of Richard Feveral* and poems like William Wordsworth's *The Prelude*.[3] Intriguing passages such as:

> Sooner or later in this life, the earnest, or enthusiastic youth comes to know, and more or less appreciate this startling solecism:—that while, as the grand condition of acceptance to God, Christianity calls upon all men to renounce this world; yet by all odds the most Mammonish parts of this world—Europe and America—are owned by none but professed Christian nations, who glory in the owning, and seem to have some reason therefor (240).

and many more of the same nature justify Pierre's kinship with the literature about the maturing of a youth. Noting, the recurrence of the motif of the Adamic hero in the writing of the nineteenth century, R.W.B. Lewis has read *Pierre* as the story of a self-reliant and noble young man who is ready to "confront whatever confronted him."[4] While such an interpretation is gratifying to American pride, Melville scholars, who have examined the author's Biblical tone and allusions in the narrative, have argued that Pierre is in fact a symbolic representative of Christ. That Pierre's late father is in heaven, his mother's name is Mary, and his sacrifices are so extraordinary are counted as exemplifications of his Christlike divinity.[5] To the biographically inclined critics, the similarity of some events of Pierre's life with those of the author is suggestive of the novel's being a fictional counterpart of Melville's own life. The disappointment and rejection of Pierre does remain similar to the disappointment and rejection suffered by Melville.[6]

The novel's significance in the perspective of Melville's other works has been discussed by R. E. Watters. To him, Pierre's life is just another example of Melville's "Isolatoes" who arrogantly reject their "sociality," and, consequently, encounter defeat and death.[7] Equally interesting is the opinion of Homans and Sedwick who have asserted that the novel depicts a "tragedy of the refusal to be satisfied with Penultimate truth," and in Pierre's fall Hillway has studied a message that such certainty is impossible in this world.[8]

Hayford, by tracing the importance of the Agatha story which Melville discussed with Hawthorne, has argued that *Pierre* was neither intended to be the author's last book, nor was it written less ambitiously than *Moby Dick*.[9] Because of the repeated allusions to God, Fate, and Christ, and because of the debate on religious obligations contained in *Pierre,* William Braswell has tried to prove that the novel presents a "severe criticism of contemporary morals," and that this criticism reveals "terrifying truth" about Christian religion.[10] To Richard Chase—as to most of Melville's contemporaries—the chief issue of Pierre is incest.[11] In short, the narrative of Pierre is so packed with ideas that it has evoked elucidative and variegated critical responses.

All of the above illuminations have enriched my thematic awareness of Melville, and since the novel's hero and the narrator offer ample discussion of the nature of truth, I have devoted the following study to an analysis of *Pierre's* concern for truth. The significance of truth in terms of the novel's plot, characterization and theme is explicated in the discussion. The chief focus of this discussion remains on the activities and opinions of Pierre. His disillusionments, dilemmas, and despair, which are involved in his futile though compelling quest for truth, are examined. Contextual evidence is relied upon as heavily as possible. The struggles, tensions and bewilderments of Pierre are also studied as symbolic manifestations of the problems of every intelligent, sensitive and noble individual who tends to look below the surface and think independently.

I

Truth is essentially the subject of Herman Melville's *Pierre,* because its hero engages in a reckless quest for truth, and the narrative contains the author's short essays on truth as indispensable interruptions in the sequence of events. The frequent capitalization of truth, the use of satire to reveal some facts, and of irony to make these facts significant, and the avowed frankness of Melville in portraying Pierre are sufficient reasons to believe that Melville did intend to make *Pierre* a "book of sacred truth" (135). In fact the entire action of this novel is stretched within the confines of Pierre's search for an eternally remote truth. After a brief introduction to Pierre's past life, his current interests and obligations, the novel dramatizes his awakening to the need for tearing all veils from Truth. His activities to satisfy this urge remain the focus of the succeeding events, and the story comes to its catastrophic end only after Pierre has run out of time, as well as zeal, to continue striving for truth.

Pierre's irrevocable commitment to truth is reported in Book III but to make his hero's passion for truth consistent with his character, the author takes care to throw light on a few significant traits of Pierre's personality before reporting his zealous determination to know nothing but truth. The first two books of *Pierre,* which contain the expository part of the plot, make conspicuous some innate tendencies in the youthful hero. Melville provides clear glimpses of Pierre's simple, sincere and passionate nature—a nature which is equipped with the prerequisites for a dedication of Truth (41-42). Adding charm to these characteristics of nobility and earnestness is Pierre's habitual docility, which in turn is guarded by expedient dissembling and firmness (37-72). The writer introduces his hero as a handsome young man barely out of his teens. Robust and healthy, he is, in the words of his mother "a fine, proud, loving, docile, vigorous

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boy" who has had "all the frolicsomeness of youth, with little of its giddiness" (38-41). We are told that Pierre, though intellectually superior to his mother, is yet inexperienced enough to be strangely docile to her "tuitions," and Mrs. Glendinning has always made conscientious efforts to instill family pride and high aspirations in her only son. She has not only kept him well reminded of his double revolutionary descent, but has often urged him to emulate the wisdom and virtue of his **gentlemanly** father: ". . . always think of him and you can never err: yes, always think of your dear perfect father" (40). Naturally, then, her son—"a lofty minded, well-born" and "noble" youth—is looking forward to an opportunity which would engage him in some unusual pursuit of virtue. The moment such an opportunity would arise we expect Pierre to make irrevocable and courageous commitment to the virtuous action.

The courage, steadfastness, sacrifice, and self-righteousness which such an engagement may require are already an inalienable part of Pierre's noble nature as evidenced by his actions in the first two books. In the scene with Lucy, his fiancee, we observe that even though Lucy is his "heaven" and his "height of all delight," Pierre has a strong will to guard himself against any unreasonable submission to her whims and commands: "When we are married, I am not to carry any bundles, unless in cases of real need, and what is more, when there are any of your young lady acquaintances in sight, I am not to be unnecessarily called upon to back up, and load for their particular edification" (45).

A little later he appears to be the exact opposite of the docile youth he is believed to be by his mother. Upon Lucy's tearful requests to know his secret about the bewitching face, he intimates his firm decision to remain impervious to such supplications: "Thy inexplicable tears, falling, falling on my heart, have now turned it to a stone. I feel icy cold and hard; I will not swear" (61). Consistent with this straightforward, cautious and firm attitude is Pierre's expedient secrecy and dissembling. When a glimpse of Isabel's imploring, anguished and beautiful face aroused mysterious longings and immense curiosity in Pierre's soul, his instinct does not fail in cautioning him against unnecessary disclosure either to Lucy or to his mother. Candidly admitting to Lucy that he has "bared" himself too much to her (by telling her about his inability to shun "the dark-eyed, lustrous, imploring, mournful face" of Isabel as he saw her at The Pennies, Pierre refuses to promise that he will keep no secrets from her.

By the same token when, struck by the strange aspect of Pierre's face and the tone of his voice, Mrs. Glendinning expresses concern about his thoughts and Pierre blurts out, "My God, mother, did you see her then,?" he instantly realizes that his fascination and curiosity for Isabel must remain a secret to his mother. Consequently, he puts her off by calling his mental wandering a "harmless, temporary aberration" (72).

These instances of firmness and pretention are a prelude to Pierre's cold withdrawal from his mother, Lucy and Saddle Meadows and his plan of fictitious marriage. Besides, we see the Pierre of the first two books as a young man of a "delicate and poetic mind" brought up by an "affluent" and "haughty" mother in the "trance-like" beauty of Saddle Meadows wherein he "little foresaw that this world hath a secret deeper than beauty, and life some burdens heavier than death" (27). Blessed with a "romantic filial love" on one hand, and with a "lyric love" for Lucy on the other, Pierre had experienced only one great vacuum in his life: the non-existence of a sister whom he could love and protect and thus prove himself worthy of his descent. With the vigor of a martial race in his veins, the courtesies of a gentleman in his manners and the "golden humanities" of religion in his character, Pierre had **glided** toward maturity with as unruffled a soul as possible (25-27). As circumstances would have it, now when Pierre is on the threshold of manhood—and thus ready to examine things for himself—he experiences a strange "muffledness" of soul caused by the sight of the lovely but mournful face of Isabel who worked at the house of The Pennies. While there to fetch his mother, Pierre had noted that Isabel's face paled and shrunk at his in a very mysterious manner. Her image left an indelible and inescapable impression on his chivalric heart: "The face haunted him as some imploring, and beauteous, impassioned, ideal Madonna's haunts the morbidly longing and enthusiastic, but ever-baffled artist" (72). Not only did the "face" mystically appeal "to his own private and individual affections," it also caused him tremendous curiosity. This irrational curiosity made such clamorous demands for satisfaction from his soul that had Isabel been at any other house than the Pennies', Pierre would have visited her to acquire a definite knowledge of that anguished beauty (76-77). After spending two days in "semi-madness" and "deepest sufferance," he eventually learns more about this "face" when a mysterious stranger delivers him a letter from Isabel. The contents of this letter reveal the identity of Isabel and simultaneously remove the veil from the truth about the conduct of Pierre's father. The fact that Isabel is his half sister—is his father's illegitimate child—shatters his faith in the "perfect" virtue of his late father. His cataclysmic reaction to the news results in a supplanting of his unquestioning faith by utmost skepticism and by the "grand" resolution:

> "Henceforth I will know nothing by Truth; glad Truth, or sad Truth;—From all idols, I tear all veils; henceforth I will see the hidden things" (90-91).

His sincere and passionate nature permits him no delay in carrying out this resolution; it rather plunges him into a retrospective mood, and from his own memories Pierre gathers enough evidence to support the facts revealed by Isabel's letter. He recollects his dying father's raving about a daughter, and he vividly recalls the full account of the chair-portrait as given by Aunt Dorothea (90-91). His mother's dislike for the chair-portrait and the ambiguous smile of this portrait support the evidence.

No longer able to believe that his father was a "saint," Pierre is unable to continue believing in things as they appear to be or as they are reported to be. He assumes the responsibility of judging things for himself and in the subsequent events accepts no other guide than his own intelligence and conscience. We had earlier noted that after the haunting face of Isabel had intruded upon his heaven of "lyric love" for Lucy, and the perplexing mysteries of Isabel's "face" had caused him irrational curiosity and wanderings of mind, Pierre had welcomed the consequent gloom of this experience. The "ardent and impetuous" lover had resorted to his "first ill-natured innuendo" and admitted feeling **icy cold** when confronted by the warm tears of Lucy who seeks a knowledge of his gnawing secret; the **simple, lofty-minded** and **noble** boy had learnt (for the first time again) to be evasive to the prying of his mother at the "mysterious fires" at his heart. Now we notice that to resolve his doubts and strengthen his convictions Pierre feels inclined to depend on his intelligence and conscience. This "natural and irreversible growth of mind," which has been recognized by critics like Warner Berthoff and Sedgwick,[12] is an essential attribute of a personality pledged to Truth. Pierre, who has made this pledge, now looks through the woeful glasses of his newly acquired wisdom, and is able to see things which he never saw before. With an "electrical insight" into the vital character of his mother, he reflects that she loves him "with pride's love" (116). As a result, the instinct which had earlier impelled him to pretend innocence to his curious and concerned mother, now cautions him that his mother's pride will stand in the way of "Isabel's honorable admission into the honorable mansion of the Glendinnings" (118). Loss of faith in the infallible virtue of his father becomes a pointer to the weaknesses of his mother; in fact, it becomes so for all his cherished idols. And at this crucial stage of Pierre's life, the circumstances become really iconoclastic. The morning that follows the night which had brought the identification of Isabel and the **whole** knowledge of his father's character, justifies Pierre's disillusionment in his idolized father and, at the same time, dulls the second most important idol in his life—the Christian religion whose "golden humanities" had been scrupulously incorporated in his character. At the breakfast table Mrs. Glendinning is engaged in a discussion with Mr. Falsegrave about Ned, Delly and their baby. She asks Pierre's opinion on the issue and by doing so unwittingly convinces him that his disillusionment in his late father is both natural and righteous: "Do you not think so, Pierre? is not the man, who has sinned like that Ned, worse than a murderer? Has he not sacrificed one woman completely, and given infamy to another—to both of them—for their portion. If his own legitimate boy should now hate him, I could hardly blame him" (127).

After the image of his idolized father has thus crumbled before Pierre, he wonders if he can pacify his agonized soul with the ideals of Christianity. He asks Mr. Falsegrave to specify the mutual obligations of the legitimate and illegitimate child, especially when the latter is in a desolate condition. He is equally anxious to know if "the most deceitful and hypocritical of fathers should be equally honored by the son, as the purest" (129-130). Such an inquiry is the author's satirical comment upon the lack of logic and righteousness in religion. It implies that if our mortal father—or our Heavenly Father—proves deceitful, it should not be obligatory upon us to honor him. Satire upon Christianity becomes more apparent when, to Pierre's bewilderment, Mr. Falsegrave admits that it is impossible to give any "definite" answers to such moral questions because "millions of circumstances modify all moral questions" (129-130). Twice in this breakfast scene, our attention is drawn to Mr. Falsegrave's empty cup as though to suggest the emptiness of his head, and of Christianity in general, in supplying answers to such obstinate questionings. This hollowness of religion impresses Pierre all the more completely when, a little later in the novel, it is explicit to him that Delly Ulver has to be driven out to starve or rot—by the acquiescence of a man of God, Reverend Falsegrave. The discovery that this man of God shared in "the detestable uncharitableness and heartlessness of the world" was enough to drive from Pierre all left-over hopes of seeking sustenance and counsel from Christian ethics. In his disappointment, he asserts:

> "Mr. Falsegrave, the subject of Delly, deeply interesting as it is to me, is only the preface to another, still more interesting to me, and concerning which I once cherished some slight hope that thou wouldst have been able, in thy Christian character, to sincerely and honestly counsel me. But a hint from heaven assures me now, that thou hast no earnest and world-disdaining counsel for me. I must seek it direct from God Himself, Who, I now know, never delegates His holiest admonishings" (194).

By agnostically rejecting the "holy rigor of our Church's doctrines," whose dispensations are not free from contradictions, Pierre, proud, confident and alone, seeks to rely upon his own intelligence and conscience. Already the first glimpse of the touching loveliness of Isabel's face has summoned his principles of "Truth, Love, Pity and Conscience to the stand," and the discovery that she is his sister has made it divinely incumbent upon him to "befriend and champion Isabel, through all conceivable contingencies of Time and Chance" (133-134). After all, the grandson of two generals has always thought it to be "a glorious thing to engage in a mortal quarrel on a sweet sister's behalf!" (27). After reading Isabel's letter, Pierre had already told himself:

> "—God demands me for thy comforter; and comfort thee, stand by thee, and fight for thee, will thy leapingly acknowledging brother, whom thy own father named Pierre!" (91).

This keenness for meeting with his obligations toward Isabel is consistent with Pierre's personality, in which Lucy has noted the element of ardent impetuosity, Mrs. Glendinning has noted innate nobility and sincerity, and the narrator a delicate and poetic nature. To Pierre the assumption of duties for Isabel becomes synonymous with embracing truth because such an action necessitates a break with the superficial moralities of Saddle Meadows which had kept him "benevolently blinded" to the moral lapse of his father. Now, the ironic influence of Mrs. Glendinning's comments upon the Ned-Delly affair, and the disillusionment in religion caused by Mr. Falsegrave's inability to give definite answers to Pierre's questions strengthen Pierre's resolution to acquire a first hand knowledge of truth. Thus, very early in the novel Melville draws our attention to the fact that the guiding principle of his hero's life is a quest for truth.

II

After Pierre declares his dedication to truth, Melville compliments his overwhelming eagerness to know Isabel, for knowing her was knowing the truth. For the sake of developing an intimacy with her, Pierre is ready to ignore his conventional duties i.e., the duty to his mother and to his fiancee. Readiness to make such sacrifices is indeed superhuman enough to evoke an exalted praise from the narrator: "Thus, in the Enthusiast to Duty, the heaven-begotten Christ is born; and will not own a mortal parent, and spurns and rends all mortal bonds" (134). Nevertheless, Melville is anxious to keep alive his own and the reader's skepticism. Admitting being more "frank" in portraying Pierre "than the best men are with themselves," Melville promises to conceal nothing in his book of "sacred truth" (135). Consequently, he gives microscopic details of Pierre's motivations, the "nameless struggles" of his soul. With an acute awareness of the inevitable fallacies of man, Melville doubts the purity of Pierre's motives and the possibility of his success in transcending earthliness. To the above eulogy he adds revealing comments, almost immediately. We are told that though Pierre was "charged with the fire of all divineness, his containing thing was made of clay" (134-135). The fragility and earthliness of clay is suggestive of Pierre's humanity which is liable to keep complete divinity beyond his reach. Moreover, it is hinted, if Isabel had been "a humped and crippled, hideous girl," Pierre's reaction to her supplications might have been very different (135). After reading this, we realize, in a flash, that Pierre's initial concern/fascination for Isabel was neither fraternal nor Platonic. Before he knew of any relation to Isabel, the alluring **mournfulness** of her **face** had caused him a unique "muffledness" of soul and an immense perplexity of mind. The imploring of her lovely face had made him feel irresistibly and sexually drawn toward her: "Mysterious girl! who art thou? by what right snatchest thou thus my deepest thoughts? Take thy thin fingers from me;—I am affianced, and not to thee. Leave me! . . ." (64-65). Perhaps, it is because of the peculiar nature of this fascination that, after making his "grand" enthusiastic resolve to acknowledge Isabel (who has revealed herself as his sister), Pierre feels the need to invoke divine aid for strengthening him and for removing "all sinister allurings" from him (134). This invocation, Pierre's inability to dismiss Isabel's face from his memory—even when he is with Lucy—, and the emphasis upon his humanity in Chapter VII of Book V are Melville's hints to the reader that Pierre's motivations in pledging his loyalty and support to Isabel **are** ambiguous.

As the novel's action continues to move on the "inroads of Truth," the above mentioned ambiguities in Pierre's soul cloud his vision and impair his judgment; however, proud and persistent he insists upon tasting the fruit of knowledge to its core. Consequently, he wades in Error while trying to pursue the heavenly ideals of Truth, Purity and Charity. The omniscient narrator enters Pierre's mind and reveals his thought-currents. We are told that while ruminating on the behavior of Isabel during their first meeting, Pierre acquired awareness of the fact that

> though the letter of Isabel gushed with all a sister's sacred longings to embrace her brother, and in the most abandoned terms painted the anguish of her life-long estrangement from him; and though, in effect, it took vows to this,—that without his continual love and sympathy, further life for her was only fit to be thrown into the nearest unfathomed pool, or rushing stream; yet when the brother and the sister had encountered, according to the set appointment, none of these impassionments had been repeated. She had more than thrice thanked God, and most earnestly blessed himself, that now he had come near to her in her loneliness; but no gesture of common and customary sisterly affection (171).

With an introspective insight Pierre realizes that, perhaps, because he and Isabel had hitherto dwelled apart (not as a brother and sister in the same household) it may not be possible for them to feel pure fraternal inclinations for each other. Pensively going over Isabel's shy behavior during his visits, he confirms his suspicion with the following reflection: "Sisters shrink not from their brothers' kisses. And Pierre felt that never, never would he be able to embrace Isabel with the mere brotherly embrace" (171). A little later, just after whispering to Isabel his plan of feigned marriage, there dawned on him "a terrible self-revelation" and this revelation came while he held her in an incestuous embrace and printed passionate kisses simultaneously (225). Still later, he pathetically commands: "Call me brother no more! How knowest thou I am thy brother?" (310). Thus, as the story progresses, the hero's penetration into his subconscious becomes deeper, and his self-analysis becomes increasingly profound and pervasive. In the beginning he had felt right in casting off social conventions which demand honoring one's parents, espousing responsibilities for one's fiancée, and above all an acquiescence in the laws of the Church concerning fulfillment of Biblical dispensations. He had consulted Heaven itself to ascertain if his severing of all bonds with the life of Saddle Meadows was all right. Keenly aware that he was sacrificing the bliss of Lucy and his mother in order to discharge his "highest and most glorious duty" toward his sister, Pierre had uttered the complacent cry: "I believe to God that I am pure, let the world think how it may" (224). And standing before Isabel with "warm, god-like majesty" he had promised her his **angelic** love. Yet, when he has already resolved his dilemmas—has crossed the Rubicon—and is on his way to the city, Pierre re-examines his recent conduct toward Lucy and his mother. Although he had earlier asserted "how can hurt come in the path to God?" (190), he now asks himself:

> "Lo! I leave corpses wherever I go! . . . Can then my conduct be right? Lo! by my conduct I seem threatened by the possibility of a sin anomalous and accursed, so anomalous it may well be the one for which Scripture says, there is never forgiveness. Corpses behind me and the last sin before, how then can my conduct be right?" (239).

However, laying aside these misgivings, the grandson of two generals continued his unsuccessful campaign for Life against Woe, Scorn and Want. Only when the agony of defeat became too inescapable did he confess that "—all this time there was latent suspicion of folly; but I would not admit it; I shut my soul's door in its face" (309).

A striking fact about the hero's progress/failure in gaining Truth is Melville's use of birth imagery. In the beginning of *Pierre* when the hero's inability to shun the "face" had made Pierre resort to instinctive dissembling, the author refers to a "foetal fancy" then forming in the youth's mind and awakening him to the knowledge that some actions of mankind cannot be explained in any logical terms (75). In the novel's middle, while on his way to the city Pierre has vaguely realized the folly of his actions, it is reported that the carriage was **carrying** him to the city with its **cradle** like motions. Toward the novel's end when he has followed the trail of Truth all the way up to the Pole, and has consequently found himself abandoned both by humanity and divinity, the author comments: "Even the paternal gods themselves did now desert Pierre; the **toddler** was **toddling** entirely alone, and not without shrieks" (336) (underlining mine). From then on the action moves speedily toward Pierre's exhaustion: "Oh, I am sick, sick, sick" (309), and the catastrophe involving his, Lucy's and Isabel's deaths. In brief, it is shown that Pierre's progress on the road to Truth is no more than that of a "toddler." This is a Melvillian device used to suggest that it is impossible for man to grasp all Truth since man's march toward Truth (no matter how enthusiastic) is arduous, erroneous, and of short duration. Pierre's belated, yet hazy recognition of his error is a proof that while he gained knowledge on one hand, on the other he lacked perspective to visualize the full impact of his fictitious marriage until it was too late, and there could be no going back. Such an inference becomes more convincing in view of Melville's comments, such as the following: "We learn that it is not for man to follow the trail of truth too far, since by so doing he entirely loses the directing compass of his mind; for arrived at the Pole, to whose barrenness only it points, there, the needle indifferently respects all points of the horizon alike—all the world does never gregariously advance to Truth" (195).

Destined to remain naive about the moral truth, mankind may vainly attempt to form an absolute or invariable opinion about an individual because, maintains the author: "As a statue, planted on a revolving pedestal, shows now this limb, now that; now front, now back, now side; continually changing too, its general profile; so does the pivoted, statued soul of man, when turned by the hand of Truth" (378). This naiveté of human comprehension and the variability of human motivations account for the inevitable limitations of man's nature, and any attempt to transcend these limitations is bound to result in estrangement, folly and failure. Nevertheless, some men are forced to try to transcend these limitations because of the innate qualities of their spiritual selves which show our kinship with God. Pierre's noble nature inspires him to try practicing superhuman virtue. Having been impregnated by high enthusiasm—"the ever encroaching appetite for God" (386)—he tries to pursue ideal virtue. Impelled by the **Christ-like** feeling to comfort and provide for Isabel, he feels superior to common men: "This day I will forsake the censures of men, and seek the sufferages of the god-like population of the trees, which now seem to me a nobler race than man" (134). Even as a writer Pierre aspires to gospelize the world anew by "producing some thoughtful thing of absolute Truth" (321). The tragic consequences of such aspirations prove that Pierre's ambitious aims are neither efficacious nor possible. Though it was a passion for "Truth, Love, Pity" and "Conscience" that had spurred him to action, he ends up as a helpless victim of "Civilization, philosophy," and "Ideal Virtue." In the context of this argument, it is clear that in spite of the frequent attribution of epithets such as **Christ-like, god-like, angel** and **heavenly,** Melville does not allow us to become oblivious to Pierre's human errors and ineffectuality. His own introversion and Melville's elucidating hints keep us aware of the non-angelic side of Pierre's being. Like the author, we admire Pierre's noble aspirations but remain painfully aware of the truth that a man cannot be an angel or a Christ. The question, "Ah, if man were wholly made in heaven, why catch we hell-glimpses?" (135), keeps challenging us for an answer. By being **frank** about the qualities and weaknesses of Pierre, Melville points to the facts about man. By virtue of his Montaignism he fails to see any unmixed purity in human motives,[14] and like Freud, he locates sinister motives in the subconscious which reveal themselves through introspection, slips of the tongue and dreams. In his unguarded moments Pierre lets slip some hints about his overwhelming curiosity about Isabel; in the moments of his deep thinking he recognizes that his chivalric zeal to succor the suffering beauty is in fact a gratification of his powerful attraction for her.

To make extant the line that separates mankind from heavenly beings, Melville scatters various oblique hints through the narrative. When Pierre's altruism extended to the protection of Delly Ulver, Isabell states: "Thou are a visible token, Pierre, of the invisible angelhoods, which in our darker hours we do sometimes distrust. The gospel of thy acts goes very far, my brother. Were all men like to thee, then were there no men at all,—mankind extinct in seraphim!" (186). Because there is a definite line separating mankind from heavenly beings, the angelic pursuits of virtue must lead mortals into deepest gloom and gravest error.

This fact is made explicit by the integration, in the narrative, of Plinlimmon's pamphlet. Pierre found this pamphlet on his seat in the coach in which he was travelling to New York. Possessed by very dark thoughts concerning the virtue of his recent actions, while Isabel and Delly still slumber before him, Pierre started reading this pamphlet in order to "force his mind away from the dark realities of things" (240). The contents interested him enough, and he read it several times. In spite of such intensive reading, the central point of the pamphlet remained beyond Pierre's comprehension, partly because the pages containing the conclusion were missing and partly because the notions presented by this writing were "wholly new" and contradictory to "the theory and the practice of his life" (242). The first lecture of Plinlimmon's pamphlet entitled "Chronometricals and Horologicals" (as inserted in Chapter III of B. XIV of *Pierre*) illustrates that in terrestrial things "a man must not be governed by ideas celestial." Just as a Chronometer, when carried to China will pronounce a different time than the time shown by local watches, similarly the Chronometric soul of man "will always, in its so-called intuitions of right and wrong, be contradicting the mere local standards and watch-maker's brains of this earth." That is why, argues Plinlimmon, the teachings of Christ seemed a "folly" to the Jews:

> "Bacon's brains were mere watch-maker's brains; but Christ was a Chronometer; and the most exquisitely adjusted and exact one, and the least affected by all terrestrial jarrings, of any that have ever come to us. And the reason why his teachings seemed folly to the Jews, was because he carried that Heaven's time in Jerusalem, while the Jews carried Jerusalem time there. Did he not expressly say—My wisdom (time) is not of this world? But whatever is really peculiar in the wisdom of Christ seems precisely the same folly today as it did 1850 years ago. Because, in all that interval his bequeathed chronometer has still preserved its original Heaven's time, and the general Jerusalem of this world has likewise carefully preserved its own" (245).

Christ's "bequeathed Chronometer" is evidently the Sermon on the Mount since the narrator of *Pierre* calls it the "greatest real miracle of all religions," (240) which has a tendency to absorb all virtuous souls without providing them "the Talismanic Secret" which can reconcile an ideally pure soul with the world that "seems to lie saturated and soaking with lies" (241). Certain philosophers have, maintains the narrator, "pretended" to have found this secret, but **silence** being the only Voice of God, it remains impossible to receive any answers from Him (242).

Continuing his discussion about the feasibility of the spiritual ambitions of man, the writer of the pamphlet specifies how **useless** and absurd it would prove were a man to attempt scheduling his daily actions in China by a Greenwich Chronometer. Earthly wisdom (man's truth) and heavenly wisdom (God's truth) remain contradictory. Christ's divinity kept him impervious to folly and sin, but any human who attempts a Chronometrical living in this world, is apt to involve himself "in strange, **unique** follies and sins, unimagined before":

> ". . . for the mass of men, the highest abstract heavenly righteousness is not only impossible, but would be entirely out of place, and positively wrong in a world like this. To turn the left cheek if the right be smitten, is Chronometrical; hence, no average son of man ever did such a thing. To give **all** that thou hast to the poor, this too is Chronometrical; hence no average son of man ever did such a thing. Nevertheless, if a man gives with a certain self-considerate generosity to the poor; abstains from doing downright ill to any man; does his convenient best in a general way to do good to his whole race; . . . though such a man falls infinitely short of the Chronometrical standard, though all his actions are entirely horologic;—yet such a man need never lastingly despond, because he is sometimes guilty of some minor offense: . . . **not** to do them, and their like, would be to be an angel, a Chronometer; whereas, he is a man and a horologue" (247-248).

The horologue does not call for an **eradication** of man's "liabilities." It only counsels restraint to save mankind from utter selfishness and demonism. By exercising these restraints men can aim for "a virtuous expediency" which is—the writer declares unequivocally—"the only earthly excellence their Creator intended for them." To reinforce this concept, he adds: "When they go to heaven, it will be quite another thing. There, they can freely turn the left cheek, because there the right cheek will never be smitten. There they can freely give all to the poor, for there **there** will be no poor to give to" (248).

The writer of this philosophical document believes that a teaching of "undiluted chronometrical doctrines" causes vice-producing results. (249) To persuade the reader, Plinlimmon cites the instances of "blood, violence, wrong and inequity of every kind" in "the history of Christendom for the last 1800 years," which prove that the Christian doctrine of returning good for evil is a **false**, impractical one, when applied to earthly affairs. He offers "consolation"—rather than admiration—to an earnest man who remains painfully conscious of "the beauty of Chronometrical excellence," and hence, always dissatisfied with doing his "convenient best" (248-249).

By inserting Plinlimmon's pamphlet, Melville has revealed the unpleasant truth about Pierre's human limitations; however, by reporting that the pamphlet's conclusion is missing and by showing its ineffectuality in changing the course of Pierre's life, Melville has taken care to ward off the readers who may try to find in Plinlimmon a solution to the problems faced by a man attempting to live virtuously. Like Voltaire's Candide who, in spite of the reversals of his pleasant expectations, finds it impossible to reject Dr. Pangloss' thesis altogether, Pierre cannot contest the convictions of Plinlimmon, nor can he relinquish his faith in the Sermon on the Mount. Journey away from the trancelike beauty of Saddle Meadows, away from filial and romantic love and away from peace and prosperity, does make him realize—vaguely at this point the fallacy of his endeavor, yet he holds on to his idealism as tenaciously as ever. The pamphlet, focus on the hell glimpses in a being supposedly made in heaven, Pierre's reflections on Isabel's behavior and his own feelings for her, and the use of birth imagery for marking Pierre's progress toward truth are proofs of Melville's commitment to illuminate as much truth about his hero's motives and actions as possible.

III

Was Pierre's fall from happiness fortunate or unfortunate, was his quest for truth leading him toward success or failure, was he Christ-like or man-like, was he transcending human limitations or descending deeper into them, was he gaining wisdom or embracing folly? These are the issues which confront the reader more and more as he reads through the last section of the story. For a possible answer to these questions, an elaboration of Pierre's relationship with Isabel is fundamental, because if this relationship could bring Pierre sufficient pride and satisfaction, the sacrifice of Lucy and his mother could be counted as the necessary price for such satisfaction. However, it is ironic that his association with Isabel brings him more distress than comfort. Instead of a gratifying progress in brotherly love, it brings about the premonitions of an "anomalous and accursed" sin, and denies him the physical delights of marriage with heavenly Lucy. However, these premonitions and the cynical wisdom of Plinlimmon's pamphlet are not able to dissuade Pierre from his stubborn resolve to shelter Isabel by his peculiar strategy, and because of this persistence, Pierre finds himself progressively involved in the unforgivable sin of incest. The young and "over-ardent" soul of Pierre had failed to foresee that the peculiar act of pretended marriage with Isabel will no doubt "hold his father's fair fame inviolate," but:

> Would prospectively and forever bar the blessed boon of marriageable love from one so young and generous as Pierre, and eternally entangle him in a fictitious alliance, which though in reality but a web of air, yet in effect would prove a wall of iron; for the same powerful motive which induced the thought of forming such an alliance, would always thereafter forbid that tacit-exposure of its fictitiousness, which would be consequent upon its public discontinuance, and the real nuptials of Pierre with any other being during the life time of Isabel (206).

Upon the fictitious marriage of Pierre and Isabel the narrator's comments ". . . man's moral texture is very porous, and things assumed upon the surface, at last strike in—hence, this outward habituation to the above named fictitiousness had insensibly disposed his mind to it as it were; but only innocently and pleasantly as yet . . ." (208) have inspired some eminent critics like Richard Chase to infer that one of the major themes of *Pierre* is incest "which actually occurs between Isabel and Pierre, "and, to quote Chase, "Given the conventions of his day, Melville had to keep Isabel relatively bodiless, stating only by indirection that there was sexual intercourse between her and Pierre."[15] Chase cites as **indirect** indications of incestuous passion Isabel's loose and beautiful hair—the conventional symbol of passion—which covers Pierre again and again, and the bell—a sexual symbol—which is part of her name. Pierre's identification of himself with the doubly incestuous Enceladus also supports the same opinion.

Of course, there is no denying that at the psychological level Pierre and Isabel **do** indulge in sinister passions, but to say that they actually gave way to such feelings might be stretching things too far. Throughout the novel I have found Pierre to be extremely analytical of his actions and motives. Any slight digression from right tends to upset him. For example, when to the sudden curiosity of his mother regarding his wandering he had, for the first time, reacted with dissembling, he was later "annoyed" at himself. (74-75) Similarly even though he had sacrificed Lucy and his mother as "the unavoidable vast price of his enthusiastic virtue," he was by nature too sincere to avoid wondering, later on, about the righteousness of his action. This tendency to analyze his actions should have caused open self-reproach had Pierre succumbed to actual incest as is argued by Chase. Moreover, some scenes in the story show his dread of such succumbing. In Chapter II of Book XIX where Isabel and Pierre are depicted in an emotionally charged scene, the emphasis remains on Pierre's persistent efforts at saving himself from a moral lapse. Besides the fact that the words "brother" and "sister" are repeated several times by Pierre and Isabel, we notice that when sitting together they experience an intense "tremor" within them, Pierre "rose, and paced the room." When Isabel persuades him to sit by her again and feels that her love is an agent in driving away the "torments" of his failure as a writer, Pierre seeks to be delivered of her hold:

> She blew out the light, and made Pierre sit down by her, and their hands were placed in each other's. "Say, are not thy torments now gone, my brother?" "But replaced by—by—by—Oh, God, Isabel, unhand me!" (308-310)

Such an agonized cry and the nervous pacing could only be generated from a heart extremely conscious of its moral commitments. Acute consciousness of the encroachment of guilty passion upon his soul brings out the following words from Pierre: "If to follow virtue to her uttermost vista, where common souls never go; if by that I take hold on hell, and the uttermost virtue after all prove but a betraying pander to the monstrousest vice, —then close in and crush me, ye stony walls, and into one gulf let all things tumble together!" (310). To Isabel—whose paganism and amorality are emphasized in this scene—Pierre's words are merely incomprehensible raving. Notice that the recurrent word here is his "raving" is **if**, instead of **I have.** Anyway, Pierre is too earnest to permit her to continue calling him brother or to continue blaming himself for sins he might have committed in thoughts, in "dreams." In Book XXVI Pierre and Isabel see a foreign portrait that resembles his father, and Pierre wonders if Isabel is really his sister? This uncertainty should have brought him some solace, in case the sexual temptations had become altogether irresistible. Moreover, just before Pierre commits suicide, Isabel still claims herself as his sister. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the deepening awareness of the "Cretan labyrinths" of his mind does cause Pierre a constant agony, and it is his inability to purge his soul from such passions that eventually prompts him to welcome death as a relief.

Melville's fascination for truth seems to be such an obsession that for him revealing dark facts about Pierre or man is not enough. He takes the entire Divinity within his range of study. To him an examination—rather than a mere justification—of the ways of God is just as important as an examination of the thoughts and actions of Pierre, a man of ideals. In *Pierre* these attitudes of Melville reveals themselves through the attitudes of his hero and through his own comments which punctuate this narrative. His hero, while melting with pity over the suffering Isabel, fails to see any logic in the relentlessness of heavenly powers (187). The indifference of God is again emphasized when Pierre is about to **entangle** himself with Isabel with his peculiar plan: "Ah, thou rash boy! Are there no couriers in the air to warn thee away from these imperillings, and point thee to those Cretan labyrinths, to which thy life's cord is leading thee? Where now are the high beneficences? Whither fled the sweet angels that are alleged guardians to man?" (207). Again, when the hero suffers emotional, financial, and physical and intellectual decay, the author comments: "Divinity and humanity then are equally willing that he should starve in the street." (335) Such sarcastic comments are highly suggestive of Melville's quarrel with God which has been excellently elaborated by Lawrance Thompson.[16] In the context of the present argument they are another proof of Melville's commitment to both **glad** and **sad** Truth in this "book of sacred truth." The **sacred** beings (Christ, God, Fate) are subject to comment and criticism, and so are the supposedly sacred actions of Pierre.

The effect of pointing out such variables in the goodness of both man and God is necessarily one of ambiguity. This ambiguity in turn creates such a flux of things that it becomes impossible to separate the divine from the devilish, the human from the inhuman, the truth from lies, sense from folly, virtue from sin, and good from bad. The "innate truth of Christianity," which had beckoned Pierre to make unusual sacrifices and accept great challenges, becomes liable to be branded as "the mere moonshine of all his self-renouncing Enthusiasm" (335). His highest wisdom, by which he had planned feigned marriage, proved to be "the most deplorable error," since heavenly wisdom remains mere foolishness by terrestrial standards and vice versa; therefore, while doing his **most glorious** duty in the world, he got close to taking a **hold** on **hell.** In such a blending of the opposites visible contradictions of sense and folly dwindle into reciprocity. Almost like Erasmus[17] the author states: ". . . since though Folly be one teacher, Sense is the lesson she teaches; since if Folly wholly depart from us, Further Sense will be her companion in the flight, and we will be left midway in wisdom" (196-197). In this mix the "immemorially admitted maxims of men begin to slide and fluctuate," and the distinctions in virtue and vice are inevitably blurred. The spiritually tortured Pierre defines Virtue and Vice as mere "trash," a "nothing" or a "dream" (310-311). His loss of faith in the constant kindness of God and of church, in the virtue of his own actions, and in the honesty of Isabel's fraternal claims leaves him with nothing to believe in. To his "neuter" self Lucy and Isabel are "Good Angel and Bad Angel both!" (403). In fact, so they are to an analytical reader. At the surface the former is "the height of all delight," while the latter is an agent of all gloom to Pierre. The author endows Lucy with all bright colors but Isabel with all the dark colors; he makes the hero visit Lucy at day but Isabel at night. Lucy's purity is emphasized: "Frankly open is the flower, that hath nothing but purity to show" (82). Isabel's mysteriousness is exaggerated; Lucy is alluded to as the "holy angel" and "the most celestial of all innocents," but Isabel is called the "girl of all bewildering mystery." Lucy in the earlier part of the story provides Pierre nothing but rhapsodies of delight, and Isabel is **only** capable of putting him in a "mood of semi-madness" (76). Above all, while a marital union with Lucy might have promised lasting happiness to Pierre, a fictitiously fraternal union with Isabel takes away all his earthly and heavenly bliss. Despite the apparent truthfulness of the above impressions, a thoughtful view of

Lucy's and Isabel's effects on Pierre makes the interchangeability of their roles equally convincing. Isabel, by **depriving** Pierre of **all** joy provided him "blessed sereneness" (65). Like most romantics who are "epicure[s] in pain,"[18] Pierre does have a temperament to which the **sweetest** songs are those that tell of a **saddest thought:** "I am not sorry I was sad, I feel so blessed now" (65). It is Isabel's, rather than Lucy's, face which ". . . mystically appealing to his own private and individual affections; and by a silent and tyrannic call" (7), challenged him in his deepest moral being," and thus summoned "Truth, Love, Pity, Conscience, to the stand." Without these calls, Pierre's soul would have remained confined within the convenient moralities of Saddle Meadows. The girl that could generate such an efflorescence of Pierre's soul cannot be condemned as merely an agent of gloom, more so when this gloom is welcomed by the recipient. Besides this, Isabel, as pointed out by several critics, represents nature rather than evil.[19] More than once, she impresses us as amoral: "I thanked—not God, for I had been taught no God—I thanked the bright human summer, and the joyful human sun in the sky: (151). In another context, she tells Pierre that the knowledge of virtue and vice is foreign to her: "Thou, Pierre, speakest of Virtue and Vice; life-secluded Isabel knows neither the one nor the other, but by heresay" (310). By endowing her with such innocence and by making her the primary agent of inspiration in Pierre's quest, the author wants to show that she is not just a harbinger of unhappiness.

Similarly an analytical view of Lucy's behavior and influence shows that she brings Pierre more than just the thrills of lyric love. Her responsibility in bringing unhappiness and disaster to Pierre is evidenced by several scenes and incidents in the novel. In the beginning while Isabel's mournfulness had aroused Pierre's utmost kindness, Lucy's tears could make him only **icy cold** and **stone**-hearted. In the last section, she appears and spoils the **twilight** peace of Pierre and Isabel. She becomes, unwittingly of course, a source of such humiliations and rivalries that make a murderer of Pierre. Though she is described as a **holy** angel and a **paragon,** she ultimately brings Pierre the **hell** pains of jail. For these reasons, to call Lucy Pierre's good angel would be short of truth. She and Isabel are able to exert both positive and negative influences on Pierre's conduct. At times Pierre notes the mournfulness of Isabel in Lucy's eyes (157), just as he is able to see Isabel's brow pure and spotless (192). At one time he sees both of them as the fatal women who have dragged him to his misery, and he prays for their deaths (400).

This blurring of distinctions between good and bad does not point to any moral chaos. It does point to the mental confusion (ambiguities) which can result from an intelligent and absolute inquiry into Trutn. Such a confusion is both tragic and fatal. It nags the mind and gnaws upon the heart of Pierre: "If he lays him down, he cannot sleep; he has waked the infinite wakefulness in him; then how can he slumber?" (345). This restlessness eventually leads him to self-indignation and he starts to abhor "the loftiest part of himself," (380) because "he seemed gifted with loftiness, merely that it might be dragged down to mud" (380). As a writer he is weary and rejected; as a man he is solitary as the Pole. Imbecility yet spurs him on to impulsive actions, and the possibility of insanity looms large. As though a glare of dazzling truth has blinded him, after the initial attempts as gospelizing the world anew, he has now realized that Truth is eternally elusive. No great book can ever present pure and sincere thoughts; therefore, says the narrator, Pierre sometimes wrote "with eyes turned away from the paper" (381). This inability to grasp the absolute truth—achieve a complete emancipation from lies and pretensions—causes his spiritual despair. Ironically enough, this champion of Truth considers a lie "heavenly" and truth "infernal" under certain circumstances (118). That is why convenient pretentions remain a part of his life both at Saddle Meadows and in the city. If he had earlier called his mother sister, he later calls his sister a wife, and his betrothed a cousin.

Pierre's ability to recognize these pretentions but his stubborn unwillingness to reconcile himself to them is the cause of his tragedy: "His soul's ship foresaw the inevitable rocks, but resolved to sail on, and make a courageous wreck" (380). Now when he is on the verge of making this courageous wreck, Pierre visualizes himself as the fallen Enceladus—the mythical hero whom Gaea had created to punish Zeus for depriving his brothers and sisters from their birth-right to share the heavenly throne.[20] Feeling that Isabel had the birthright to be acknowledged by her only brother—her only kin—Pierre defied the powers that bound him to the bounteous life of Saddle Meadows, while poor Isabel continued her hard and suffering existence at a nearby farm house. Just as the great Enceladus could not match the thunder and cunning of Zeus, Pierre's heroic soul could not match the ferocity and indifference of society, and the "mysterious fires"

(78) and "ungovernable emotion" (183) of his own heart. Ignored, rejected and helpless, he finally identifies himself with this defeated giant who lies buried under mighty Etna and occasionally changes his weary position, causing "shudders" and "groans" in all of Sicily.[21]

Whereas the mythological Enceladus retained his head and arms, the American Enceladus of *Pierre* is "without one serviceable ball-and-socket above the thigh" (388). This image of complete impotence is a painful reminder of our hero's physical, mental and emotional condition at this point in the plot. Pierre of the last section is enveloped in **nothingness.** Once a noble, docile and vigorous son of Mary Glendinning, an ardent and impetuous lover of Lucy, a zealous and sacrificing brother of Isabel, a "civilized young inquirer after Truth" (321), and an assiduous and ambitious writer of new gospels, Pierre is now a victim of "Civilization, Philosophy, Ideal Virtue!" (341). Neither innocent nor innocuous, he resorts to homicide and suicide which bring his tragic life and the novel to a close. Nevertheless, this seemingly pessimistic finale, loaded with the overtones of nihilism and determinism, does contain a redeeming hint. The author justifies Enceladus' desire to scale Olympus and usurp or share the heavenly throne: ". . . whoso storms the sky gives best proof he came from thither! But whatso crawls contented in the moat before that crystal fort, shows it was born within that slime, and there forever will abide" (389). This comment attaches special significance to the fallen giant's occasional turn and breathing of fire. We realize that centuries of time have not completely annulled the deathless Enceladus' defiance. With this realization, our attention is shifted from Pierre's defeat to the cause and vigor of his struggle. His inability to find a talismanic secret which could reconcile his soul with the world points to the vastness and ambiguity of truth and reinforces the message of Tennyson's "Ulysses:"

> . . . all experience is an arch wherethrough
> Gleams that untraveled world whose margin fades
> Forever and forever when I move.[22]

Since knowledge remains a continuum, Pierre's reaching for truth could only make him—or any other man who engages in this pursuit—experience what Pascal has called "a learned ignorance;"[23] however, it is natural for the children of Adam to keep seeking, because it is such striving alone which evinces their kinship with God and His Heaven. The immortal part of Pierre has earlier shown itself in men like Job, Oedipus, Hamlet, and Faust, and it still continues to live in modern man who cannot rest from leaping into space on one hand, and from proping in the labyrinths of mind on the other: from following knowledge "beyond the utmost bound of human thought." That is why, even though Pierre is disowned and disinherited by his mother, and ridiculed, neglected and defeated by society, his Titanic struggle to be his noblest endears him to the reader. Purely noble characters like Lucy pale into insignificance when examined in the light of the immensity and whole-heartedness of the sacrifices of Pierre who laid aside his earthly obligations to scale the Olympian heights of heavenly virtue.

IV

In the previous chapters it has been noted that the enthusiastic and uncompromising seeker after truth suffered despair, defeat and death, due both to his human limitations and to the impossibility of acquiring a god-like freedom in this world of pragmatism. Nevertheless, Pierre's noble persistence endears him to the reader, and it establishes his kinship with Heaven. It yet remains to be ascertained whether or not such a quest remains confined to the incidents, comments and implications of *Pierre* alone, and even a superficial reader of Melville can notice that the attitudes and opinions of Pierre's hero and the narrator make appearances in all of Melville's major novels.

Before making his debut as a writer, Melville had seemingly developed a habit of examining the validity of truths he had earlier accepted. His "peep" at Polynesian life revealed facts contrary to a belief in the enlightenment and Christian concern of the Western countries. He realized that the injustice and evil practiced by the Europeans exceeds the cannibals in barbarism. Moreover, felt the narrator of *Typee,* the civilization carried by Western man does more harm than good to the primitive culture. Contaminating contact with the white man damages the buoyant, healthful, physical living and "perpetual hilarity" of the simple, trusting and noble savages. Reflections over the "remorseless cruelty" of civilized countries that punish criminals and fight wars as angrily as possible, make the narrator declare:

> The term "Savage" is . . . often misapplied, and indeed when I consider the vices, cruelties, and enormities of every kind that spring up in the tainted atmosphere of a

> feverish civilization, I am inclined to think that so far as the relative wickedness of the parties is concerned, four or five Marquesan Islanders sent to the United States as Missionaries might be quite as useful as an equal number of Americans dispatched to the Islands in a similar capacity.[24]

In Melville's second novel, *Omoo*, the jovial crew members, while enjoying their moonlight picnics, engaged in a debate about the virtue of missionaries. Also, *Omoo's* narrator makes satiric comments upon hypocrisy in matters of religion in a culture which approves of the segregation of white children and Hawaiian children.

Such comments and hints of the evils of imposing Western culture and religion on the Eden-like simplicity of the untutored people of Typee and Tahiti are natural reactions of an artist, keen on looking at both sides of things. While Western man prided himself on his enlightenment, prosperity, superiority and paternalism, Melville—yet an incipient genius—was discerning and courageous enough to call him the "most ferocious animal on the face of the earth,"[25] since he saw enough evidence of such ferocity in the European nations' vindictive wars, cruel weapons and heartless punishment of criminals.

More exposure of civilized barbarity is made in *Redburn* and *White Jacket*. In these two novels, the exploitation of inexperienced sailors is made clear. The shock experienced by Redburn on finding England much different from its account provided by his father is similar to the shocks received by Tommo, Ishmael, Ahab or Pierre. *Moby-Dick's* chapter entitled "Fast Fish and Loose Fish" is written in the same satiric vein. It discusses how man and parts of the globe itself are merely loose fish and fast fish in the sea of opportunism, because possession often dominates international laws. Such rationalization lays bare the chauvinism of advanced nations who tend to take righteous pride in their foreign policies which cater to their materialistic designs under the pretext of humanitarian and ethical concern for underdeveloped nations.

Melville's passion for revealing reality kept urging him to show religious hypocrisy and moral blindness in most of his novels. In *Pierre*, he has presented the Reverend wearing a cameo brooch which represents a union of serpent and dove. Mr. Falsgrave is neither capable of nor interested in exerting his moral pressure to make the moralities of Saddle Meadows more realistic and consistent than they are. In this community Pierre's father could be allowed a respectable living, but Delly has to be driven away. Mrs. Glendinning's relentlessness toward Ned and Delly, and later toward her own son, adds to the same effect. Glimpses of this satiric aspect of Melville's writing which reveals truth about man, society and God are also provided in *Mardi* and *Moby-Dick*. The Mardians' acceptance of Taji as an avatar is an excellent example of the religious blindness of the average mass of people, and so is the comment that "many infidels but disbelieve the least incredible things; and many bigots reject the most obvious."[26] The difference between worldly ways and heavenly ways is emphasized by Father Mapple's words: "if we obey God, we must disobey ourselves,"[27] and also in the words of Moby-Dick's narrator: "man's insanity is heaven's sense."[28] These statements **are** identical to the arguments of Plinlimmon in *Pierre*.

Similarly, *Pierre's* emphasis on the ambiguity and vastness of truth is an extensive elaboration of scattered statements on the same subject in *Moby-Dick* and *Mardi*. In *Moby-Dick*, the highest truth is alluded to as "shoreless, indefinite as God;"[29] in *Mardi* it is considered an impossible goal:

> Things nearest are farthest off. Though your ear be next door to your brain, it is forever removed from your sight. Man has a more comprehensive view of the moon, than the man in the moon himself. We know the moon is round; he only infers it. It is because we ourselves are in ourselves, that we know ourselves not. And it is only of our easy faith, that we are not infidels throughout; and only of our lack of faith, that we believe what we do.[30]

Analogous to Pierre's resolution to know nothing but truth, is Babbalanja's: "I am intent upon the essence of things; the mystery that lieth beyond; the elements of the team which much laughter provoketh; that which is beneath the seeming; the precious pearl within the shaggy oyster. I probe the circle's center; I seek to evolve the inscrutable."[31]

As the author's quest for truth in *Pierre* creates an increased awareness of the interchangeability of good and bad angel, of the Christ-like feeling and passion, in *Moby-Dick* it makes conspicuous the dual nature of the color white, of the whale and of

God. In its chapter "The Whiteness of the Whale," Ishmael is appalled by his thoughts about the white color. A symbol of chastity, holiness and austerity, it is also related to the hideousness of an albino, and the fury of a blizzard or a polar bear. Just like its color, the white whale has a dual significance in the novel. To the monomaniac Ahab who is intent upon "an audacious, immitigable and supernatural revenge,"[32] the whale is a living identity of all his mighty woes, of the inherent evils of the entire universe. However, to people in certain parts of the world, this same whale is an incarnation of the Divinity. It is also reported that the whale's ubiquity, intelligent malignity and treacherous retreats have often inspired superstitious speculations in the whalers. It is interesting to note that Melville's presentation of this duality has evoked opposite responses. Hints of Ahab's blasphemy in carrying out his "quenchless feud" have inspired Lawrance Thompson to read the novel as Melville's quarrel with God,[33] but hints of man's materialistic motives, the horrible vulturism, have inspired Marius Bewley to cast pitying glances on the suffering Leviathan and find his suffering symbolic of God's suffering: ". . . the metaphysical image of Stubb eating the whale by his own light is a sarcasm, not at God's expense, but at the expense of a hypocritical and savage world that, like the false four hundred prophets of King Ahab, uses the light of God for its own profit while lacerating the body of truth."[34] To him the chapter "The Grand Armada" which shows the mother whale and her newly born infant——a vision of the world in its primal innocence—is reminiscent of Dante's Canto XXVIII of the *Paradiso,* and the entire narrative of *Moby-Dick* contains enough scenes of a similar nature to represent the author's truce rather than quarrel with God.

In his digging for truth, Melville's major discoveries remain related to a study of evil. A recognition of evil's independent and pervasive existence impelled him to make marginal comments on Emerson's essays which preached the notion that while an evil person may continue to see evil in the world, a good person will tend to see a general regeneration taking place at all times. In the margin Melville noted that in the context of Emerson's belief a perfectly good being should see no evil, yet Christ and the philanthropists have been touched by the evils of this universe.[35] Thus, to Melville, evil is a necessary part of the world and of man. Believing that "even the truest will say untrue things, and the wisest say foolish things,"[36] Melville portrays his important heroes as complex characters whose attempts to eradicate evil have mixed motives and consequences. Tommo, though fascinated by the natural beauty of the Typee Valley and its people, is yet longing to return to civilization; Ahab though ungodly is god-like, though rash and domineering is yet compassionate to Pip; Pierre, though anxious to gospelize the world anew is yet a dissembler, the "truest" of Melville's heroes but capable of saying "untrue things." The actions of such heroes bring ironic results. While embracing truth, Pierre involves himself in lies and evils that cause the insanity and death of his mother, the sacrifice of the angelic Lucy, the murder of Glen, and eventually his own and Isabel's suicides. In the same way Ahab's frantic efforts to kill Moby Dick kill part of his humanity. Not only does his monomania drive him away from his wife and child, it keeps him at an emotional distance from the crew of the *Pequod.* Even the bereaved captain of the *Rachel* fails to receive Ahab's human sympathy. Through his determination to take revenge, Ahab brings destruction and death to himself and others. Thus, in an attempt to do away with the evil, Ahab becomes evil himself, and the *Pequod,* "like Satan, would not sink to hell till she had dragged a living part of heaven [the sky hawk] along with her."[37]

The twining of good and evil is quite apparent in *Billy Budd.* In it, Captain Vere fully realizes that Claggert is evil incarnate, and Billy's death blow to this Satanic character is an action equivalent to an angel's descending down to earth for administering justice, yet he sees no alternative to a submission to the law that demands Billy's hanging. Billy too realizes this predicament and blesses the captain. The resolution of Billy Budd, Melville's last novel, is the author's elucidation of the dark truth that good and evil co-exist. An Attempt to deny their co-existence would be living in illusions, but an effort to remove one from the world's surface necessitates a partial removal of the other. That is why absolute moral truth remains elusive and infinite, but reaching for it, felt the author, attaches worth and glory to human life. The message of *Moby-Dick,* ". . . so better is it to perish in that howling infinite, than be ingloriously dashed upon the lee, even if that be safety!"[38] and that of *Mardi* "Better slay the body than the soul; and if it be direst of sins to be murderers of our own bodies, how much more to be a soul-suicide . . . . If eagles gaze at the sun, may not men at the gods?"[39] is in no way different from that of *Pierre,* in which the hero's idealism receives sincere commendation from the narrator, while it evokes a sympathetic concern from the reader.

Juxtaposed against this message is also an opposite attitude in each of the three novels. Besides Babbalanja's, *Mardi* depicts a variety of attitudes in other characters who join Taji in his search for Yillah who is a symbol of ultimate Truth. Media represents Intellect, Yoomy is a poet, and Mohi is the historian. Each approaches truth in his own way. *Moby-Dick* presents the defiant Ahab side by side with the calmly accepting Starbuck whose faith cannot be shaken by the malice of a "dumb" brute. *Pierre* eulogizes the noble idealism of the hero but creates an illusion of disproving the wisdom of the Sermon on the Mount by inserting the cynical pragmatism of Plinlimmon. Attaching significance to such contrary attitudes and opinions is another proof of the comprehensive vision of Melville that gleaned truth in every philosophy, but found it impossible to acquire a knowledge by which one can prescribe definite lines of conduct. He could only hold a mirror to reflect the truth—**glad, sad,** and **shoreless** truth. He says in Pierre that some philosophers pretend at having gained such a knowledge but their pretensions lead mortals only into folly and destruction. The Confidence Man seems to be a representative of such philosophers. With his superior cunning and wit, he is able to beguile the passengers of the *Fidele* in many ways. Also, the thesis of *Pierre* is re-inforced by the following comment from *The Confidence Man:*

> . . . he, who, in view of its inconsistencies, says of human nature the same that, in view of its contrasts, is said of the divine nature, that it is past finding out, thereby evinces a better appreciation of it than he who, by always representing it in a clear light, leaves it to be inferred that he clearly knows all about it.[40]

This observation is an obvious counterpart to those made in *Pierre* that admit the impossibility of painting some nameless struggles of the human soul, and of accounting for the variables in man and God.

To find, in Melville's major novels, statements, characters and incidents that present different sides of an issue or a personality, arguments that assert that to admit ignorance is to recognize the vastness of knowledge, statements that emphasize God's obliviousness to suffering man, and statements that point out variations in the nature of man and of God is to notice that

Pierre is not the only book containing Melville's frank discussion of the moral ambiguities. The author who had been taught to believe in God's "all goodness," and whose master recalled him as a person "strict in his truthfulness"[41] found it irksome to be faced with the inscrutableness of God, the suffering of spiritually refined men, and the inhumanity of culturally advanced men. This irksomeness gets a detailed emphasis in Pierre, but it manifests itself in most of Melville's novels.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Herman Melville, *Pierre: or, The Ambiguities* (New York, 1964), p. 135. All subsequent references to *Pierre* are to this edition and will appear parenthetically in the text.

[2] Lawrance Thompson, *Melville's Quarrel with God* (Princeton, N. J., 1952).

[3] Warner Berthoff, *The Example of Melville* (Princeton, N. J., 1962).

[4] R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1955).

[5] Richard Chase, *Herman Melville: A Critical Study* (New York, 1949), 128-32.
H. Bruce Franklin, *The Wake of Gods: Melville's Mythology* (Stanford, 1963).

[6] Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921).

[7] R. E. Watters, "Melville's Isolatoes," *PMLA*, 60 (1945), 1138-1148.

[8] George C. Homans, "The Dark Angel: The Tragedy of Herman Melville." *New England Quarterly*, 5 (1932), 699-730.

[9] Harrison Hayford, "The Significance of Melville's Agatha Letters," *Journal of English Literary History*, 13 (1946), 299-310.

[10] William Braswell, *Melville's Religious Thought: An Essay in Interpretation* (Durham, 1943).

[11] Chase, pp. 109-120.

[12] Warner Berthoff, *The Example of Melville* (Princeton, N. J., 1962).
William E. Sedgwick, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind* (Cambridge, 1944).

[13] Pierre's acknowledgment of his utter dejection must have been equally agonizing to Melville. After revealing it, he hastens to bring the story to a melodramatic but tragic end.

[14] Michel de Montaigne, "That We Taste Nothing Pure" in *The World in Literature* eds. Warnock and Anderson (Glenview, Illinois, 1959).

[15] Chase, p. 119.

[16] *Melville's Quarrel with God.*

[17] Desiderius Erasmus, "The Praise of Folly" in *The World in Literature* eds. Warnock and Anderson (Glenview, Illinois, 1959), pp. 548-554.

[18] Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony* trans. Angus Davidson, (London, 1933).

[19] Sedgwick, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind.*
Leslie A. Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (New York, 1960), p. 284.

[20] H. A. Guerber, *The Myths of Greece and Rome* (London, 1960), pp. 17-19.

[21] Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil* tr. Allen Mendelbaum (Los Angeles, 1971).

[22] Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Ulysses" in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, V. 2, ed. Abrams, *et al* (New York, 1974), p. 1024, Lines 19-21.

[23] Blaise Pascal, "Thoughts" in *The World in Literature* eds. Warnock and Anderson (Glenview, Illinois, 1959) pp. 714-717.

[24] *Typee* in *The Portable Melville* ed. Jay Leyda (New York, 1968), pp. 172-3.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[26] Herman Melville, *Mardi and A Voyage Thither* (Boston, 1923), p. 259.

[27] *Moby-Dick* ed. by Harrison Hayford and Hershel Parker (New York, 1967), p. 45.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 347.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[30] *Mardi*, p. 259.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 305

[32] *Moby-Dick*, p. 162.

[33] Thompson, *Melville's Quarrel with God*.

[34] Marius Bewley, "A Truce of God for Melville," *Sewanee Review*, 61 (Autumn, 1953), pp. 682-700, p. 695.

[35] Marginalia in *The Portable Melville*, p. 600.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 613.

[37] *Moby-Dick*, p. 469.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[39] *Mardi*, p. 371.

[40] *The Confidence Man: His Masquerade* (New York, 1964), p. 76.

[41] Newton Arvin, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1957).

REGIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF STUDENTS AND THE LEARNING OF GERMAN

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To ascertain whether the locale of a student affects his translation, enunciation, verbal reasoning, ease in memorization, oral communication, perceptual concepts, and overall proficiency in learning German. The purpose of this research at Langston University is to ascertain whether there is more difficulty on the part of students in learning German coming from one area than another and, if so, to utilize these findings in teaching German more effectively.

I PROBLEM: First, a thorough search was made of any materials relating to this project and materials of any benefit, directly and indirectly, were ordered and read; A summary of relevant work in regard to teaching German to students from different regions was non-existent. There were limited sources for teaching German to Americans in contrast to those speaking British English: *The sounds of English German*, 1962, Wm. G. Moulton; *The Grammatical of English and German*, 1962, Herbert L. Kufner. There were materials on teaching English to the Disadvantaged but nothing specific on teaching German in regard to areas, advantages, or Vernacular Hangups in the U. S. One book, *Linguistics Across Cultures*, by Edward T. Hall offered a few suggestions.

Not very much was found on regional differences of those residing in the U. S. Compounding the problem is the fact that migrations and settling in the U. S. left mixed and dialectical differences in many states and areas. Some helpful books on this aspect included:

Discovering American Dialects, Robert W. Shuy, National Council of Teachers for English, Urbana, Ill.

M. L. A. Association of America, G. Moulton, 1970, Princeton, N. J.

American Dialects, Carroll Reed, Cleveland and New York World Publishing Co. 1967.

Evaluation in these three areas revealed a dearth of material. The procedure in the project was clearly visualized. Thorough information on each student must be collected, analyzed, and compared to his ease and ability in learning German at the end of the course. The collection of this necessary factual information fell into three categories:

1. Student's background information
2. Test results, written
3. Test results, oral

II. PROCEDURE

A. Student background information was collected through profile sheet asking for the following information:

1. Sex—11 males, 3 females
2. Birthplace—1 from Washington, D. C., 1 from Kansas, 2 from Mississippi, 9 from Oklahoma, 1 from Ethiopia
3. Race—All Black except one half-Mexican and one Ethiopian
4. Number of parents—All but 2; 2 parents
5. Number of brothers and sisters—Average, 4
6. Economic Background—Average, $5,000 to $10,000.
7. Type of work of parents—9 blue collar workers, 5 white collar workers.
8. Education of parents: Grade, High School, College—3 with college; 11 less.
9. Pre-school training—3 with kindergarten, 11 with no pre-school training
10. Types of schools attended: Segregated, Non-segregated —All attended Non-segregated
11. Grade in school—1 senior, 10 juniors, 1 sophomore
12. Outside contacts with FL.—4 in military in Germany, 2 in area
13. Racial conflicts in area—2 had some, 12 had none
14. Dialect of area—Black Vernacular plus white influence in area
15. Health Problems—5 with allergies, 6 wear glasses
16. Religion—1 Catholic, rest Protestant
17. Scholastic Average in High School—Upper ¼
18. ACT Rating—12.5 average
19. College Reading Score—10.8 average
20. Number hours working per week—Only 2 work—7 hours weekly.

B. Student mental capabilities recorded as nearly as possible through standardized tests, and achievement scores, keeping in mind these cannot be relied upon 100% due to a differentation in test words and expressions and the students own vernacular, which in this case would be assumed to be all or partially Black.

1. MLA Aptitude Test—Scores average, and students seemed to have little difficulty with the vocabulary here.
2. DAT Verbal Reasoning—Students scores low. This felt to be due to the standard language used being different from student's vernacular.
3. FL. Attitude Questionnaire from N. E. Conference on the teaching of FL. Much more learned from this than the MLA or DAT.
    (1) 10 had studied German, 1 French, 1 Italian, 1 English, in the past.
    (2) Only 1 had studied a FL. outside of school.
    (3) All but 1 knew someone who could speak a foreign language (FL). This equally divided between friends and neighbors.
    (4) Influences in studying a FL. divided equally among parents, friends, teachers, counselors,
    (5) 10 had selected German as being the most useful in their field of study. 13 were science students; 1 music student.
    (6) To read current and classical literature in the FL. was the skill most desired.
    (7) All 14 satisfied with the type of skills taught, test book, instructor, classroom activities, homework, assigned readings, progress information, grades, time for study consultation time and all desired more opportunity to practice the language.
    (8) No one felt the instructor placed too much emphasis upon speaking correctly at all times.
    (9) 50/50 as to whether speaking incorrectly would induce them to speak more.
    (10) 13 out of 14 thought pronunciation should be as nearly correct as possible for communication.
    (11) Most felt students should have more say in the content and methods of courses in math and science.
    (12) Yet most did not vote for the more say in method and content of the FL.

(13) Most wished to spend more time discussing the culture of the FL. studied.
(14) Majority desired culture discussions in English.
(15) Majority would like to speak a FL. like a native.
(16) All felt that they definitely would like to try to communicate in the FL., if in Germany even though it were possible to get by in English.
(17) Majority felt it important for Americans to learn a foreign language.
(18) All but one felt the time spent in studying a FL. to have been successful.
(19) Most felt parents, friends, H.S. Teachers and society thought FL. important and all 14 felt it very important on their own part.
(20) All felt FL. should begin in elementary. Most were in favor or slightly so of FL. in H.S. All but one voted against eliminating FL. in school. Evenly divided as to whether taking FL. during schooling **very much in favor** or **slightly**.
(21) All but two would go abroad to increase their skills in the use of a FL., if possible.
(22) All but one found study of a FL. very enjoyable; one found it slightly enjoyable.
(23) All felt at ease in listening, reading and writing a FL., but only half felt at ease in speaking it.
(24) Most did not feel a person had to have a talent for FL. to be good at it. However, the three who thought so, rated themselves at above average here.
(25) No one felt a special talent for FL. necessary to get anything out of the course.
(26) Most felt optimistic in becoming **affluent** in the FL. someday.
(27) Most did not feel uneasy or afraid to make mistakes when trying to speak the FL.
(28) And all blamed themselves for their own uneasiness. (Not the teacher or the class).
(29) Most did not think our lack of FL. accounted for many of our political difficulties abroad.
(30) All but two **disagreed** or **strongly disagreed** that studying a FL. had endangered their own culture.
(31) The study of a FL. did not seem to have lowered the students' opinion of American culture. Students con-

sidered this aspect to be of no worry or concern or interference in their study of German and disagreed that they should therefore concentrate on the FL. rather than the culture of the people who spoke it.

Summary: Attitude of students wholesome, normal and interested in regard to FL. study.

C. Trip to Research Consortium at Atlanta, Ga. April 7-10, to learn more specifics concerning research projects and methods of procedure. Consortium directed by Dr. George Breathett and very well organized and directed.

D. Dialectal tests given to student to **pinpoint** as nearly as possible whether he spoke Northern, Midland, Western, Southern (closely associated to black) vernacular. Investigator felt, due to transient population and black vernacular, that it would be unfair to assume the students vernacular from his area. To first localize the dialect, tests were given from Robert Shuy's **Discovering American Dialects.** They are listed in the order given.

1. Local Dialect Area Test of 100 expressions with the check words in Northern, Midland or Southern dialect. As some words could be two-regional there was an overlapping in numbers. Results were as follows:

   Northern: 77 Midland: 110 Southern: 88

   From this it was safe to assume blacks do not cling to all black vernacular but imitate and absorb local dialects of resident area.
2. Fieldwork Test of 59 English words were given to student to pronounce orally to further ascertain whether dialect was Northern, Midland or Southern. The pronunciation was recorded on tape with Sony Tape Recorder with each student's name and locale. Here the dialectal differences showed up much more prominently than in the written test.

   Results: Strong Southern Dialect for two students from Mississippi and one from Frederick, Oklahoma, previously from Texas. Northern for students from Washington, D. C., and African student who had studied British English and partially Northern for student from Kansas. All Oklahoma students spoke with the same consonant and vowel enunciation and diction.

E. Oral Tests—recorded—given to student to obtain specifically his German Pronunciation, a list of words (46) for vowel check and a list of words (46) for consonant check given in German. These taken from German Pronunciation, Ithaca Press, N. Y. Final check lists the pronunciation carefully studied by re-plays and checked against **correct Pronunciation** by Hans-Heinrick Wangler's Tapes for Americans learning German. Dr. Wangler is considered the leading authority in this field.

III. RESULTS:

A detailed chart made of each student's German pronunciation variations from the oral tapes and a side-by-side comparison made of the correlation or non-correlation to good or bad German Pronunciation. For brevity the students were divided into three groups and German pronunciation difficulties listed under each group.

(1) Northern or British
Very little or no difficulty. Faster intonation and clipped speech allowed student to slip readily into German. Ethiopian student had no "th" sound and pronounced "w" as "v" in his native dialect, so no problems here.

(2) Midland or Oklahoman
Dipthonged vowels.
Insufficient round of lips
No explosive pf
Weak S hiss
Speech a little slow.

(3) Mississippi and Texas (southern)
R inserted after vowel O.
No lip protrusion
S pronounced X
U pronounced OA
No r's where necessary. Added on end, Kennedy style.
N's weak.
O repeatedly pronounced aw.
J's inserted in words such as Tuesday.
Impossible to speed up speech.

B. Comparison of student's grades with locale. No correlation whatever here. Locale does not affect student's ability to learn, read, memorize, understand German. Two students from Mississippi or the south were the best students in the class.

IV. CONCLUSION:

A student's regional background had no effect on his ability and ease in learning German. It did definitely affect his ability and ease in speaking German. However, this drawback was not sufficient to keep him from ably communicating in the Language. As 13 of the 14 students were taking German for the express purpose of translating scientific German, this factor was of even lesser importance.

ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS

In every language the tongue, lips and mandible (lower jaw) are the most important organs in the speech process. They have the same anatomical structure for all people; but they are all by no means used in the same way in every language. These are characteristic differences from language to language. It is not merely that the stock of speech sounds differs among languages, but that even quite similar speech sounds are pronounced differently in each language. And this research project concludes that the area from which a student comes in the U. S. affects his ease and ability in speaking German. This theory arises from the correlation between better German Pronunciation in the areas with the speech patterns the most similar to the German mode of enunciation and the correlation between poorer German Pronunciation in the areas with the speech patterns the most dissimilar to the German mode of enunciation.

The bases of articulation of American English and German are quite different. The difference in the position of the tongue as well as its effect on the various movements of articulation, is especially important. In American English a certain hollowing of the front of the tongue is typical. The apex of the tongue is drawn back somewhat from the front teeth with a more or less pronounced tendency to point toward the alveolar ridge, or even towards the front of the hard palate. It has a "concave" contour. A German tongue is never concave! Its basic position is just the opposite, characterized by a pronounced convex arch. It rests in the mouth, and the apex constantly seeks contact with the inner surface of the lower incisors. When one speaks German properly, therefore, the tongue remains farther forward than in English, and in addition has a greater tendency to curvature, which is always convex (even with the "l"). The "American" tongue, on the other hand, is clearly wider and flatter during speech, and tends to be drawn back with the apex raised in a concave curve.

So, logically, it follows that Americans, in certain areas, who do not widen and flatten their tongues as much as those in other areas and do not also draw their tongues back as far have a distinct advantage in imitating and reproducing the German sounds.

In general, one may say of the German habits of articulation of the lips and jaws that their movements are considerably more active than in American English. Particularly important is the necessity of a more pronounced lip rounding for a whole series of speech sounds than is common in English. When Americans speak German, their lips are usually too passive. Specifically, they are not thrust forward sufficiently where it is necessary for them to protrude. So in areas with a lazy upper lip method of speaking, one finds worse German Pronunciation.

This research project bears out the above contention by showing in the final analysis that those students from the southern regional areas of the U. S. with the mouth opened more widely in speaking, the tongue more convex in contour, the tips of the tongue farther toward the hard palate, have more difficulty in the articulation of Good German.

Also, German is overall more guttural, harsh and choppy, known for its glottal stop. The research further shows American students from the fast-paced, fast-talking big cities and Northern Areas to have an unconscious advantage in duplicating the German Intonation Pattern (as of soldiers marching to war, not a southerner slowly sleeping through a siesta).

Native habits of articulation are hard to change and correct pronunciation of German will always be faulty as long as these habits are retained. The constant shift in the basic of articulation causes serious difficulties and the wider the Gap between American articulation and German due to regional speaking habits, the poorer the German pronunciation.

So, at the conclusion of this project, it is quite valid to state that the regional background of a student definitely affects his ease and ability in speaking German. However, no tests, results, readings, nor finding even faintly suggested that the ethnic background or area of a student affects his ease and ability in learning German.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH THROUGH ITS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Vivian U. Robinson
Paine College

During the celebrations leading up to America's two hundredth birthday on July 4, 1976, too little has been said about the contributions of Blacks in general to the growth of the United States. Moreover, the contributions of the Black Church have almost gone unnoticed. It is for this reason that I decided to show through extended research what the Black Church has done to help make America great. As I proceeded with my research, I soon found that I had selected too broad a topic. Hence I had to narrow the subject to one area, education. Even this one area proved too broad a topic for the time I had to give to a research project which I worked on while continuing my regular college teaching responsibilities and other extra-curricular activities. Finally I decided to study one church, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (my own denomination) and its contributions to education. This paper will begin with a discussion of the significance of the Black Church; move to a brief discussion of the organization of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; and will reach a climax with the discussion of its educational institutions.

It is impossible for anyone to overestimate the significance of the Black Church: "It was the means by which thousands of slaves and ex-slaves found meaning in life, developed character, embraced basic educational tenets, began economic enterprises, fostered institutions of learning, developed indigenous leadership, and practiced basic forms of self-government."[1] In his study of the Negro in America, Gunnar Mydral envisions the Negro Church as a "giver of hope, as an emotional cathartic, as a center of community activity, as a source of leadership, and as a provider of respectability."[2]

In a similar vein, E. Franklin Frazier gives his views on the significance of the Black Church in this fashion: "In providing a structured social life in which the Negro could give expression to his deepest feelings and at the same time achieve status and find a meaningful existence, the Negro Church provided a refuge in a hostile world."[3] And John Hope Franklin states that "an important agency for maintaining group cohesion and rendering self-help was the church."[4]

In the years immediately following slavery, the Negro Church represented for the Negro the only organized social existence outside the family. It became the arena of political activity since Negroes could not participate in America's political life. It was primarily through the initiative and leadership of the Negro Church that the education of the race became an ideal and the establishment of schools became a reality.[5]

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (C.M.E.) is one of the Black denominations that provided initiative and leadership in education. Prior to 1954, the C.M.E. Church was called the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church to distinguish it from the Methodist Episcopal Church South. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church came into existence out of the content of slavery, the ravages of the Civil War, and the problems of Reconstruction. It was organized in 1870 and had as its members freed Negroes who had been members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. However, these persons had remained in that church following the Emancipation Proclamation.

The founders of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church "believed deeply in education, although some of them were often not educators or even educated themselves". . . . "The reasons are not hard to find. They believed that knowledge and devotion to God had to be linked if one were not to destroy the meaning of the other."

Bishop Miles held this point of view in the first episcopal address he delivered at the second General Conference held in Augusta, Georgia, April 1, 1873. He stated that the Church should establish a Publishing House and "devise some plan for the more liberal patronage of *the Christian Index, the Church Paper,* and the *Discipline.*" "These things are important," he continued, "not only for the sake of financial results, but for the advancement of our people in intelligence and in Christian morals, for the right training of the young, and to put to silence the reproach of our enemies. We must become a reading people," he said, "if we would acquire influence, overcome opposition, and maintain ourselves respectably among the churches of the land."[6]

In the statements just quoted, Bishop Miles was delineating the need for instruments to enhance informal education. But he did not stop there; he also made a plea for formal education.

> "Next to the maintenance of sound doctrine and godly discipline," . . . "the most vital point is the education of our people, and especially the improvement of our ministry. . . . My conclusion is to recommend the appointment of a committee, with instructions to take counsel and elaborate a scheme of education to be submitted to the General Conference at its regular session a year hence."

Since the clergy needed training and the former slaves needed to learn how to read and write, it was imperative that the Church should foster an educational program, if it was to move forward.

In August, 1874, Bishop L. H. Holsey read the Episcopal Address which again emphasized the need for a trained ministry and laity. He stated that "the subject of education and ministerial training claims your best attention and deepest consideration."

> "It is eminently 'the question' of the session. . . . Nothing can be substituted for it, nothing can be taken in exchange or put in its place to answer the universal call of the church; not that education is all in all, but it is one of those mighty and potent means employed by God to make known his will and the revelation of his word to the benighted sons of a degraded and apostate race."[7]

Rev. Olakey states in his book *The Rise of Colored Methodism* that "the most significant action of the 1874 [General Conference which met in August in Louisville, Kentucky], was the adoption of a report from the bishops calling for the establishment of a school in Louisville, Kentucky, to be known as "Central University." Subsequent to that action, much time and effort were expended trying to get that school established. Nevertheless, by 1876, the project had not succeeded for want of funds. Although this project eventually failed, the decision to establish the school illustrates the desire of 'Colored Methodism' to lift the cultural level of black people by providing the necessary education.

Education of the race has been at the heart of the C.M.E. Church ever since Bishop Holsey read the Episcopal Address in 1874. Consequently, at one time or another throughout the history of the denomination, almost every state in which the Church had a significant membership, supported an educational institution.

In the brochure, "Know Our C.M.E. Schools," Rev. W. R. Johnson states that the C.M.E. Church founded and operated more than 20 schools. Among them have been: (1) Central University; (2) A High School in Sardis, Mississippi; (3) Homer Seminary, later called Homer College; (4) Holsey Normal and Industrial Academy; (5) Helena B. Cobb Institute; (6) Holsey Cobb Institute (a merger); (7) Haygood Seminary; (8) Arkansas-Haygood Industrial College; (9) Boley Oklahoma High School; (10) South Boston High School; and (11 & 12), two other schools located in the Carolinas.

Today the C.M.E. Church supports a theological seminary, The Phillips School of Theology as a part of the Interdenominational Theological Center, and five colleges: Lane College, Paine College, Texas College, Mississippi Industrial College, and Miles College which also has a law school. A brief history of each school will be given in order to show how the C.M.E. founding fathers struggled to give to the world educational institutions which would prepare young people for a full, rich life and for occupational opportunities which were gradually opened to them. Much of the history of each school was taken from the college catalogues as well as from other books written by members of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

PAINE COLLEGE

The history of Paine College is closely bound with that of its parent and major supporting bodies. After the Civil War, the Negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, formed the Colored (now Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church. Realizing the need for an institution of learning designed to train ministers and teachers, Bishop L. H. Holsey led a group from the C.M.E. Church to request assistance of the mother Church in the organization and support of the school.

In 1882, each church appointed three of its members to a committee which established Paine Institute. It was named in honor of Bishop Robert Paine. Six months after incorporation, class work was begun in rented quarters on Broad Street in Augusta, Georgia.

The present campus site on Fifteenth Street was acquired in 1886. In those days, the campus looked more pastoral than collegiate, with its barns, chickens, mules, and cultivated fields, in addition to its classrooms, library, and residences.

In 1903, Paine Institute was re-chartered as Paine College.

However, there were no public schools for Negroes at that time, and Paine continued to provide secondary education for its students, as well as college work. It was not until 1945, when the first public school for Negroes was opened in Augusta, that Paine discontinued its preparatory classes.

Almost since its beginning, Paine's faculty has been interracial. Dr. John Wesley Gilbert, Paine's first student and first graduate, furthered his education in Athens, Greece, and returned in 1888 to become the first Negro faculty member. Since that time, the staff has been not only interracial, but international.

Throughout the years of its history, Paine has been a distinctly Christian college. Although it has never had a creed, it has always been deeply concerned with the quest for truth and resolute in seeking to bring about such application of truth as will increase the fullness of life of the individual in society.

There have been eight presidents of the college as follows:

Morgan Calloway	1882-1884
George Williams Walker	1884-1911
John D. Hammon	1911-1915
D. E. Atkins	1915-1917
Albert Deems Butts	1917-1923
Ray S. Tomlin	1923-1929
E. C. Peters	1929-1956
E. Clayton Calhoun	1956-1970
Interim Committee	
(S. B. Gandy—Chairman	1970
(C. M. Richardson—Chairman)	1971
Lucius H. Pitts	1971-1974
Julius S. Scott, Jr.	1975

From the very beginning, at least three emphases have been given to the problem of leadership training at Paine College. These have been and still are as follows: a high standard of scholarship; positive Christian character in which the teachings of Jesus have been given definite application; and the development of human relation on the basis of Christian brotherhood.

These objectives together with emphasis upon a broad liberal arts foundation for further training in professional and business fields are restated in the following manner:

1. to promote the development of Christian character
2. to foster the maintenance of a high standard of scholarship and respect for vocational efficiency

3. to provide opportunities for the acquisition and maintenance of sound health
4. to help the students understand and appreciate our historical heritage and its implications for our present life and relationships with other cultures
5. to stimulate the students to develop the experimental attitude and the ability to think deeply and critically
6. to help the students to cultivate an appreciation of the beautiful
7. to guide the students in general preparation for sound family life through courses, the college counseling services, and co-curriculum activities
8. to provide educational experiences in the worthy use of leisure time and participation in community enterprises
9. to encourage the students to express in their conduct mutual interracial understanding and Christian devotion in life experiences.

Paine College is a four-year, co-educational college, committed to sound education which leads to personal development, vocational competence, and social responsibility. It bases this education in the liberal arts within the framework of the Christian view of the nature and destiny of man. Its goal is collegiate level education of sufficient breadth and depth in those areas of knowledge and skill which lead to the humanization of man and the systems in which he functions; to an understanding of self and an appreciation of others; to the discovery of and a personal commitment to intellectual pursuits, aesthetic appreciation, ethical and spiritual values that will make individual life meaningful and social life humane.

As an educational institution, historically bi-racial in establishment and leadership, predominantly black in enrollment, yet open to all qualified students in its admission policy, Paine College continues to work towards mutual understanding and esteem between Blacks and Whites. By its heritage and structure, it seeks to emphasize the black experience—in so far as it is viable—through the whole educational process. It strives to provide an atmosphere of academic excellence in which each student can relate his unique experience to academic disciplines and to life.

Strategically located in a growing metropolitan area, Paine College seeks to share its resources with the community beyond its campus boundary. These efforts include sharing of facilities, faculties, and resources; and take the form of dialogue and cooperative projects with community agencies. Such cooperative efforts extend to other educational institutions in this area—such as Augusta College and the Medical College of Georgia—in the form of faculty dialogue, faculty exchange, mutual sharing of cultural events, and paramedical benefits to the Paine College faculty and students.

Paine College is fully accredited by its membership in The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Therefore, graduates receive full credit at graduate level instiutions for all work satisfactorily completed at Paine.

Academic work at Paine College is given full college credit by the State Department of Education in the states of Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina. Graduates who have completed the required hours of work in the Teacher Education Department will receive a High School or Elementary School Certificate from the State of Georgia.

Paine's membership in educational associations include: The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; The Association of American Colleges; The Association of Church Related Colleges in America; The American Council of Education; The University Senate of the United Methodist Church and The College Entrance Examination Board.

The principal support of the college is provided by the two cooperating churches, the United Methodist Church and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church ,and the United Negro College Fund. Paine College has a forty-acre campus located in the heart of Augusta, Georgia. In the past, Augusta has been known as one of the leading winter resorts in the Southeast. It is still known for its healthy climate and is also recognized as a rapidly growing industrial center.

Most of the college buildings, including dormitories, classroom buildings and the library, are located in the main campus area. Directly across the street from this area is the athletic field, the gymnasium and the chapel/music building.

The president of Paine College is Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr., and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees is Dr. Daniel A. Collins.

LANE COLLEGE

Ninety-one years ago Lane College, then the "C.M.E. High School," was founded by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Looking to the establishment of this enterprise, as early as November, 1878, the Reverend J. K. Daniels presented a resolution to the Tennessee Annual Conference held in old Capers Chapel in Nashville, Tennessee, and presided over by Bishop W. H. Miles, the first Bishop of the C.M.E. Church. The resolution was adopted amid much applause. The Conference at once appointed a committee to solicit means with which to purchase grounds and inaugurate plans to carry forward the proposed work. Reverend C. H. Lee, J. H. Ridley, Sandy Rivers and J. K. Daniels constituted this committee.

Because of the great epidemic of 1878, the committee was handicapped and did not accomplish very much. Meanwhile Bishop Isaac Lane took charge of the Tennessee Conference as presiding Bishop. He met with the committee, gave advice and helped to formulate plans for the founding of the school. On January 1, 1880, four acres were purchased for $240 and thus was begun a work that has been a powerful factor in the uplift of the people of the South.

The school began its first session in November, 1882, under the title of "C.M.E. High School," with Miss Jennie E. Lane as teacher. In January of the following year Professor J. H. Harper of Jackson, Tennessee took over the work and carried out the unexpired term. It was during his administration that the school was chartered under the law of the State of Tennessee and its name changed to Lane Institute.

In 1887, Reverend T. F. Saunders, a member of the Memphis Conference of the C.M.E. Church, South, was appointed the first president and made numerous contributions to the institute and to the youth enrolled there. It was during this period that the need for a College Department was felt. This Department was organized in 1896 and the name of the school was changed from Lane Institute to Lane College.

In 1903, Reverend James A. Bray was elected president, a position which he held until 1907, when Dr. J. F. Lane, son of the founder, was elected president. Dr. Lane served as president thirty-seven years. During his administration the college improved its educational facilities and its physical plant and attracted the attention to such agencies as the General Education Board of Rosenwald Foundation and the Board of Missions of the C.M.E. Church, South. The boards gave liberal donations to the college.

In 1936, Lane College was approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and given "A" rating by this Association in 1949. In December, 1961, the college was admitted to full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. With the passing of President J. F. Lane, December 11, 1944, Reverend P. R. Shy served as the Acting President until Dr. D. S. Yarborough was elected President in 1945—a position which he held until 1948 when Mr. J. M. White was elected President. Mr. R. H. Sewell, Dean of Instruction, became Acting President in 1950 and remained so until Reverend C. A. Kirkendoll was elected President of the College in July of the same year.

Dr. Herman Stone, Jr., who had served as Dean of Instruction for ten years, was elected President of the College in July, 1970. He assumed office on September 1.

Lane College, from its beginning, has served as a stimulant of inspiration for youth of the C.M.E. Church and down through the years has maintained its momentum in this area. Today Lane College stands as a symbol of Christian education for the American youth of all faiths and creeds. Lane College is committed to the task of preparing its students for the future in their chosen occupation or profession through its enriched liberal arts curriculum. It attempts to provide a foundation for future educational development, especially at the graduate and professional levels. The College seeks to equip students with skill and knowledge replete with value and meaning for the fulfillment of competitive livelihood and for successful living.

Lane attempts to guide students through programs of intellectual experiences that will enable them to identify and to develop their maximum potentials to meet the demands of decision-making situations through thoughtful, rational, and creative thinking.

The College believes in democratic participation in the American society in an intelligent manner designed to improve that society and its members' opportunities. In a world of continuous change, the College endeavors to offer programs that develop attitudes necessary for effective participation in a democratic society. The College seeks to help its students become open-minded, tolerant individuals while developing sensitivity and commitment to bettering the human condition.

At the College, students are helped to develop their inner strengths and resources as these relate to the will to follow through and their persistence to complete tasks; the acceptance and mastery of responsibilities; and living by a workable system of values. The College seeks to help all students achieve self discipline.

Lane College offers a well-balanced liberal education, and seeks to continue to add to the variety of its curricula offerings, to become ever more innovative in organization and methodology, and to continue to develop the mature, educated individuals needed in this changing society.

The College emphasizes and encourages:

1. the development of thoughtful, quality communication; skillful use of the English language; and the improvement of the ability to communicate.
2. the habit of thoughtful citizenship participation by providing opportunities for students to assess their personal resources, such as, self-knowledge, to knowledge of racial background and contributions; personal, objective, valid, accurate diagnosis of problem situations and ability to make wise and intelligent choices.
3. the application of humanistic understandings to the problems of our society, its people, and the world.
4. the provision (within the resources of the College) for continued development of students who have had limited opportunities and who otherwise would continue to be limited by few opportunities.

Lane College is fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. The program in teacher education is approved by the Board of Education of the State of Tennessee.

Lane is a member of:

Tennessee College Association
Tennessee Council of Private Colleges
American Association Collegiate Teacher Education
Association of American Colleges

TEXAS COLLEGE

Texas College is located at Tyler, Texas, which is 100 miles east of Dallas and 116 miles west of Texarkana. Tyler has a population of approximately 60,000 and is the major city of East Texas. It is so strategically located that it is within a two hundred-mile radius of one-half the Negro population of Texas.

Texas College was organized in 1894 by a group of ministers of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and instruction began at the institution in 1895. The name of this institution was changed in 1909 to Phillips University, in honor of the presiding bishop who was chairman of the Board of Trustees; however, the name of Texas College was restored in 1912.

The institution has a long history of scholars who have served as its presidents. The first president was O. T. Womack, who served from 1895 to 1903. Much credit should be given this president, who with patience and thoughtful care directed the activities of Texas College through its first eight years. Following President Womack for a brief period of two years was W. B. West, 1903-1905. S. W. Broom was elected president in 1905 and served in that capacity until 1910. G. L. Tyus served as president from 1910-1914; and was followed by C. C. Neal who held the office for one year, 1914-1915. The period marked by the first significant period of unparalleled educational growth and development was the administration of W. R. Banks when Texas College became fully accredited as a junior college by the Texas State Department of Education.

It was in 1931 that perhaps the most colorful and dynamic educational leader was elected president of Texas College. This strong and capable leader was Dominiom R. Glass, whose term as president spanned thirty years, from 1931-1961. With the advent of Dr. Glass, the second tremendous program of academic growth and physical expansion was consummated. Texas College was accredited in 1932 by the State Department of Education as a senior college; and in 1933, the college was granted a "B" rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools attracted unusual attention, because Texas College had initiated and developed a community-centered program for the in-service development of teachers. As a result, Texas College was able to strengthen and enrich educational offerings, augment physical facilities, improve the quality of instruction, and increase student enrollment to such an extent that the institution was granted an "A" rating in 1948, by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Also, it should be mentioned that it was during the Glass administration that Texas College was among the first members of the United Negro College Fund.

Two short administrations followed the presidency of Dr. D. R. Glass; they were those of President Robert L. Potts, 1961-1963, and President Horace C. Savage, 1964-1967.

In June 1967, Dr. Allen C. Hancock was elected as the eleventh president of Texas College.

Texas College, a church-related institution under the supervision, care and ownership of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, provides a program of study and experiences which is designed to contribute to the intellectual, social, physical, emotional, and spiritual development of each of its students.

Texas College endeavors to produce individuals who will be concerned and active participants in various communities, the state, the nation, and the world. To accomplish this goal, the College provides the following: 1. basic programs in the Arts and Sciences; 2. basic requirements for entering various occupations and professions; 3. programs for the preparation of teachers for elementary and secondary schools. These programs are designed to culminate with the acquisition of the Bachelor's degree.

Texas College is a small residential College, and its purpose is to provide opportunities for involvement among the administration, faculty, and students which will greatly enhance the student's progress toward total development. Texas College adheres to an open admission policy; retention, however, depends upon satisfactory academic and personal development and performance. Special programs are provided to assist each student in the elimination of various difficulties which tend to impede progress toward total development.

The institution is accredited for Teacher Education by the Texas Education Agency—Accredited by Texas Association of Colleges and Universities and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

Texas College is a member of the following: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers; American Association of College Admission Counselors; National Association of College and University Chaplains; National Business Teacher Education Association; National Institute of Science; Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; Southwest Faculty Conference; Student-National Education Association; Texas Council of Church-Related Colleges; Texas Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers; The American Council on Education; The Association of American Colleges; The Texas Association of Colleges; and The Texas Association of Developing Colleges.

The president of Texas College is Dr. Allan C. Hancock. The chairman of the Board of Trustees is Bishop J. Madison Exum.

MILES COLLEGE

Miles College is a four-year, accredited, liberal arts college, enrolling some 1,100 men and women students, and located in Fairfield, Alabama, ajoining Birmingham, six miles west of the downtown area.

Miles is a church-related college, founded in 1905 by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. The College is still generously supported by and affiliated with the C.M.E. Church, and although the curriculum and faculty and student body are nondenominational, it remains the constant guiding purpose of Miles College to prepare its students for lives of Christian service.

Miles College has never been restrictive in admissions, and remains open today, as it has been from the start, to all qualified persons, regardless of race, religion, or national origin. For most of its years of service Miles has been the principal four-year collegiate institution open to Black students in the metropolitan area of Birmingham. As a consequence the College has a proud record of achievement of preparing teachers, ministers, and business and professional men and women, to serve the community. Close to half of the Black teachers in Birmingham area public schools are graduates of the College.

Miles College is an accredited member of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and was voted into membership of the United Negro College Fund beginning in January 1972. Graduates of Miles are awarded State of Alabama Class B Professional Certificates in Elementary and Secondary Education.

Miles offers Bachelor's Degree programs with majors available in the fields of Biology, Business Management, Business Education, Finance, Accounting, Marketing, Secretarial Administration, Chemistry, Elementary Education, Special Education, English, Mathematics, History, Political Science, Sociology, and Social Work. In addition Miles offers course instruction in Art, French, Music, Philosophy, Physical Education, Physics, Psychology, Religion, Spanish, Dancing, Drama and Economics.

Among a number of possible minor programs, Miles offers students a chance to take a cross-cultural minor program in Afro-American studies, involving courses in the fields of Humanities and Social Science, such as Afro-American Literature, History of Black Music, African Religions, The Black Church, Ghetto Economics, African Studies, Slavery and the Slave Trade, Afro-Americans in Government and Politics, Black African Government and Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. The Afro-American studies program is backed up by the Afro-American Materials Center in the College Library, a strong and growing collection of books, periodicals, recordings, films, and film strips. This center is supported by a number of foundations, and is open to use by the community and by visiting scholars. Miles College has entered into a student exchange arrangement with University of Alabama in Birmingham, under which students of either college may enroll for credit in courses of the other. Miles exchanges students with Wooster College, Ohio, for one semester in sophomore year. Miles also has arrangements with Tuskegee Institute and Alabama A&M University for students who begin their work at Miles College to finish off programs in Engineering, or Physics, or Veterinary Medicine at strong departments in other institutions.

In admission, Miles thinks of itself as an "open door" college. The College welcomes applications from any high school graduate, or any mature man or woman with a high school diploma or equivalent certificate who is of sound character, and who appears to have the ability and determination to succeed in college work. Miles does not use test scores as a basis for rejecting candidates for admission, but seeks to make a careful evaluation of each individual's potential, based on his total record. The College necessarily reserves the right to refuse admission to persons of unsatisfactory behavior patterns, or persons who seem almost certain to fail at college. But the general philosophy of the College is to admit serious and determined people who come to her, and then help them in any way she can to succeed in their college work.

Miles puts a special effort into instruction and counseling programs for incoming freshmen, providing courses specifically attuned to new students' interests and needs: sound developmental programs in reading, English, mathematics, and a great deal of individual counseling and instruction. Besides its regular freshman program, Miles also sponsors a special program for 100 students, called Services to Enhance Educational Potential (STEEP). This program has a skilled staff of teachers and counselors concerning themselves with the academic progress and personal adjustment of these new students.

College expenses at Miles are kept as low as possible since it is a privately endowed and financed college. Further, out of concern for the financial situation of most of its students and applicants, Miles has put together one of the strongest financial aid programs of any small college in the country. In 1970-71, Miles awarded more than $1,000,000.00 in scholarships, grants, loans and wages to some 850 students, about 80 percent of the College's enrollment. Miles is determined to do everything it can to assist the determined, capable student to go to college, no matter how severe his financial circumstances.

Miles College participates actively in three consortia of colleges in Alabama: the Alabama Center Higher Education, the *Alabama Consortium* for the Development of Higher Education and the Birmingham Inter-College Council. The Alabama Center for Higher Education is a group effort of eight Black Colleges in Alabama (Alabama A&M, Alabama State, Miles, Oakwood, Daniel Payne, Stillman, Talladega and Tuskegee) to work together to share strengths and initiatives in instruction, new programs and development of resources. The Center was established in 1968. The Alabama Consortium for the Development of Higher Education, established in 1968 and incorporated in 1971, brings together seven institutions (Alabama A&M, Huntington, Judson, Miles, Stillman, Montevallo and University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa) in cooperative consideration of a wide spectrum of college problems,—sharing of resources, long range planning, joint ecological studies, regional development, Freshman and Sophomore study programs, joint purchasing, Black studies, institutional use of computers, and so on.

The Birmingham Inter-College Council is composed of all the institutions of higher learning in Birmingham, Alabama. This council encourages cooperative activities involving all phases of educational programs.

The College feels a particular responsibility to work for the welfare of all people, especially those in the Black community, and as a consequence has been responsible for introducing into that area Federal Headstart and Upward Bound Programs, Manpower Training, and Teacher Institutes in English, History, Mathematics and Elementary Education. Currently the college is sponsoring an ESAA Dropout Prevention Program in Birmingham; an In-Service Institute for Elementary Education teachers and administrative personnel and an ESAA Community Service Center; the Educational Talent Search Project—an intensive effort to identify and encourage underprivileged young people, mainly dropouts, to go back to school and go on to college; the Emergency School Assistance Program for the Study of Language and Culture, a program designed to ease problems of desegregation of schools; Upward Bound—a higher horizons and encouragement program for high school students and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) a volunteer effort in Jefferson County to alleviate the effects of poverty; and the **Eutaw-Greene County Portable Freshman Year Program.**

Miles College began through efforts dating back to 1898 by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in Alabama to establish an institution of collegiate rank. At that time there were only two conferences in the state, the Alabama and the North Alabama. Each conference made an effort to build an institution and for some years each of these conferences operated separate and distinct schools, one at Thomasville, established in 1898, and the other at Booker City (now Docena) established in 1902. The Thomasville High School served as a feeder for Miles College for several years after it was organized. The College is generally considered to have been a development from the high school operated at Booker City by the North Alabama Conference of the C.M.E. Church. In a sense, however, it may be considered a merger of the two schools.

In the spring of 1907, the Board of Trustees decided to extend the scope of the school's influence and work. Acting on this decision, they exchanged the site at Booker City for the present site—consisting of thirty acres, situated in the western limits of Birmingham—and erected a large brick building, along with a few frame buildings. The work of the institution as a college was begun in the fall of 1907. In 1908, the organization of the school was completed and it was chartered under the laws of the State of Alabama as Miles Memorial College, in honor of Bishop William H. Miles. Action founding the school was taken in 1905. By vote of the Trustees in 1941, the name of the College was changed to Miles College.

The College is under the auspices of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, with an interracial board of trustees. From the beginning, the College has had the constant financial and advisory aid from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Under the Methodist Union, this assistance has been continued. In all respects regarding service and attendance the institution is nondenominational. All faiths, including those of no particular faith, find in it an opportunity for training and development which will fit them for definite Christian helpfulness and service.

Motivated by the impelling belief that an institution of higher education should transcend the narrow confines of its physical setting Miles College, acting as a catalyst, seeks to bring together human resources, knowledge, and ideals relevant to the American way of life.

In summary, the College emphasizes the following basic purposes:

1. To provide a liberal arts education for all applicants who meet the College's requirements.
2. To aid the individual student in acquiring competency in the communication skills that will enable him to live an effective life.
3. To assist students in acquiring professional training in those career fields that the College provides itself or in cooperation with neighboring institutions.
4. To provide consultative services to the surrounding communities.
5. To act as a catalyst for the improvement of human relations.
6. To provide, through course work and extra curricular activities, experiences, relevant to the psychological, physical, cultural, political, social, and spiritual needs of all students.

Dr. W. Clyde Williams is President of Miles College and Bishop C. A. Kirkendoll is Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

MISSISSIPPI INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE

Mississippi Industrial College is a church-related historically Black, co-educational, senior college with educational programs in liberal arts and sciences, teacher education, business and industrial management, and other professional, pre-professional, and para-professional programs. The college was founded in 1905 by Bishop Cottrell under the auspices of the Mississippi Conferences of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. These conferences selected ministers and laymen as members of the college's first Board of Trustees with Bishop Cottrell as the Chairman.

The first session of Mississippi Industrial College began on January 11, 1906 and closed in May with about 200 students. The primary purpose of the Mississippi Conferences of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church was to establish an institution to provide liberal and technical education for black people, both young and adult. Through the years the college has expanded its objectives to meet the needs of time and society. The objectives of the college in brief are to prepare students for advanced study, to develop respect for human and individual rights as gifts of God, to develop creative scholarship, and to provide for the highest development of human personality through a broad program of liberal studies.

Mississippi Industrial College is fully accredited by the State Board of Education of the State of Mississippi. The College is in the process of gaining accreditation of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. The College is a member of the Mississippi Association of Private Colleges, Mississippi Association of Predominantly Negro Independent Colleges.

The college is situated in the City of Holly Springs in the northern part of Mississippi. Located approximately 50 miles southeast of Memphis Tennessee, the college is easily accessible from Mississippi Highway #4 which runs through Holly Springs.

As a small, private, church-related, historically black college, Mississippi Industrial College is committed to excellence in teaching and human service. The college believes that there is an immediate need for the revision of its traditional curriculum and teaching methods in order to meet the needs of its students and the community. To help black young men and women take advantage of new career opportunities in business, industries, and government, the college must provide new programs with new methods of teaching and learning.

The concept of STEP, which stands for "Student-Tailored Education Program," is based on the principle that all students do not have the same background, needs, and interests, and all of them do not learn the same way at the same pace. STEP creates a learning environment in which each student is treated as an individual and is provided an educational program according to his or her needs and interests. At Mississippi Industrial College, under this catalog effective fall 1975-76, all programs will be "student-tailored" or will be designed individually for each student. STEP involves "student-tailored" curriculum, instruction, and counseling. Each program includes courses in general education, an area of concentration, and elective with or without a minor area depending upon the individual student's needs and interests. The entire program is student-centered and career-oriented rather than discipline-oriented. Although a senior college, Mississippi Industrial College offers programs leading to Bachelor's as well as Associate degrees and also offers several community-oriented "special focus" programs to meet the needs of the community and the Mid-South Region.

Mississippi Industrial College tries to improve its teaching and learning effectiveness by adopting competency-based modular instruction and modular scheduling. An in-service education program was introduced beginning with fall, 1974-75 to orient the members of the faculty with the competency-based modular instruction.

In the opinion of many educators, our traditional academic calendars are obsolete in view of the recent changes in the structure of knowledge, in educational technology, and in career aspiration of our students. Several studies indicate that students learn better when they study fewer courses at a time, especially the average and below average students.

A student under this modular schedule will study two courses (in many cases only one subject in each 7-week session and only one course at a time in the 3-week intersession). The student will also take up to two semester hours of course work, especially in music, physical activities or orientation and career education, etc. During the 15-week concurrent session, classes for each course will meet daily instead of two or three periods weekly. Academic counseling and "procter-managed" tutorial programs will be strengthened to provide students with special services needed.

Role of the instructor in the competency-based modular instruction will change from disseminator of information to manager of instruction and learning. Instructors will spend more time in planning course syllabi, designing instructional strategies, preparing instructional materials, and counseling students than in actual teaching or lecturing. The role of the student will change from passive listener or receiver to active participant in the process of learning. The student will be more responsible for his own learning with the instructor as a guide and advisor. Learning will be more interactive based on the performance objectives set at the beginning and the evaluation of objective achieved at the end of the module, unit, and the entire course.

PHILLIPS SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

The report of the Committee of the School of Theology made to the Board of Trustees of Lane College, May 30, 1944 called for the establishment and organization of a School of Theology for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. The committee's report was adopted, with minor changes, by the Board of Trustees of Lane College and it contained the following recommendations: 1. That the Board of Trustees of Lane College, hereby authorize and create a School of Theology. 2. That the School be named Phillips School of Theology. 3. That the School of Theology be located on or near the present campus of Lane College. 4. That as soon as feasible a building be erected to house the School of Theology. 5. That the President and Administrative Staff of Lane College be requested to provide quarters for the said school until other quarters can be provided. 6. That the President of the Board of Trustees, the President of the Lane College and the Committee of the School of Theology be authorized to implement the above recommendations of the committee. 7. That this work begins with the 1944-45 school term. The Committee of the School of Theology was composed of the following persons: Reverends N. T. Walker, Chairman; F. L. Lewis, Mrs. Cora Martin Winchester, Reverends W. P. Pipkins, E. F. B. Amos, E. L. Hollis, Secretary; Drs. U. S. Walton and B. J. Smith. The purpose for the establishment of this school of theology is to train ministers and other religious workers of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and other religious bodies.

Following this action the matter was taken to several Annual Conferences during the year 1944 for consideration and authority to go forward with the Phillips School of Theology. The following Annual Conferences by unanimous vote authorized the creation of said School, committed themselves to the support of it and elected members from Memphis, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and later New Orleans. Thus the Phillips School of Theology was established and Charter secured for same under the control of the above named Annual Conferences until such time as other Annual Conferences of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church might become participants and supporters of the same.

The formal Academic Opening Exercises for the Phillips School of Theology was held at Lane College, December 12, 1944, at which time the purposes, aims and objectives of the School were clearly stated in an address delivered by the Chancellor of the School and its Founder, Bishop J. Arthur Hamlett. The teaching program of the School started January 2, 1945, with an enrollment of eighteen students and seven professors. Dr. Joseph A. Jones, Jr., was elected Dean of the School, and during the meeting of the Board of Directors, July, 1945, was elected to the position of "President" thereby becoming the first Dean and President of the Phillips School of Theology.

The Twenty-first General Conference and the Twentieth Quadrennial Session of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was held at St. Louis, Missouri, May 1-13, 1946. During this session of the General Conference definite steps were taken by interested persons to make the Phillips School of Theology Connectional. The Episcopal Address called for definite action for the connectionalizing of the Phillips School of Theology. The Episcopal Address states, "The Phillips School of Theology can be made a great school if it is made connectional and supported by a designated percentage of the General Funds . . ." The Episcopal Address recommended "That a specified percentage of the General Funds be appropriated for Phillips School of Theology and that it be made a connectional seminary." The Quadrennial Report of the Third Episcopal District presented in factual form information concerning the organization of the school—number of faculty, and number of students. It requested that the General Conference adopt the school thereby making it available for the training of ministers and other religious workers of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church on a large scale. Thursday, May 9, 1946, during the afternoon session of the General Conference, a motion was made that the "conference adopt the Phillips School of Theology as one of the schools of the Church . . ." This motion was carried. Two resolutions presented to the General Conference set up the machinery needed for transferring the Phillips School of Theology. The General Conference set up a Commission composed of the College of Bishops and two representatives who were to report to this Conference for further action and instructions. The second resolution presented outlined the history of the school, purpose, academic program and a proposed budget for the operation of the school. This resolution together with other documents were submitted to the special Commission composed of the following persons: Bishop Randall A. Carter, Bishop Y. Bell, Bishop Charles L. Russell, Bishop Luther Stewart, Bishop F. L. Lewis, Bishop Roy L. Young, and Bishop J. B. Porter. Clerical, H. W. Evans, J. M. Exum, J. A. Foster, U. L. Washington, S. H. Harris, E. T. Woods, C. I. Bullock, T. M. Gatewood, and S. J. Mashaw. Laymen, A. A. Womack, W. M. Washington, and W. W. Taggart.

This special Commission met in Memphis, Tennessee, September 12, 1946, and amended the charter of the school, created a Board of Trustees for the school, adopted a budget, and the College of Bishops approved a report from the Executive Board of the Board of Trustees. The following persons made up the first Connectional Board of Trustees for the Phillips School of Technology: Bishop H. P. Porter, Dr. U. S. Walton, Treasurer; Bishop Randall A. Carter, Bishop J. Arthur Hamlett, Bishop John H. Moore, Bishop William Y. Bell, Bishop Charles L. Russell, Bishop Luther Stewart, Bishop F. L. Lewis, Bishop Roy L. Young. Clerical: Reverend J. B. Bullock, Reverend M. L. Breeding, Reverend L. W. White, Reverend B. A. Wadlow, Reverend E. T. Woods, Reverend C. I. Bullock, Reverend T. W. Gatewood, Reverend S. J. Mashaw. Laymen: Mr. H. J. Caruthers, Mr. I. Willis Cole, Prof. W. M. Frazier, Prof. W. L. Green, Major D. L. Reed, Dr. A. A. Womack, Mr. W. M. Washington, Dr. E. W. Taggart. Executive Board: Bishop J. H. Moore, Chairman; Reverend B. Julian Smith, Secretary; Bishop H. P. Porter, Dr. A. A. Womack, Reverend S. J. Mashaw.

The Phillips School of Theology became the connectional institution for the training of ministers and other religious workers for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

The purpose of the Phillips School of Theology is to train and prepare men and women for Christian service. The curriculum of the Phillips School of Theology is set up and organized to train the following kinds of religious leaders: pastors, directors of religious education, social service directors in Church institutions, and teachers of religion.

To acquaint religious leaders and Church workers with the many and varied types, and kinds of problems of this day, and to give these persons the methods and techniques whereby they will be able to lead their people to the most helpful and satisfying religious life.

To train and develop Chirstian leaders who can interpret religion, theology and philosophy in an ever changing world, thereby making religion an effective and instructional instrument in building Christian personality, and a vital spiritual force and power in bringing about social change.

To train ministers for Rural Pastorates with special emphasis on those methods and techniques which may be used in intergrating the Church in the total life of Rural Community.

The Interdenominational Theological Center is a new seminary created in 1957 through the cooperation of four schools of theology, representing four denominations. The respective schools are: Gammon Theological Seminary, Methodist; Morehouse School of Religion, Baptist; Phillips School of Theology, Christian Methodist Episcopal; and Turner Theological Seminary, African Methodist Episcopal.

The Center is one of the most significant projects in cooperative theological education ever undertaken in America. It was greatly helped by some magnificent grants from philanthropic foundations, especially from the Sealantic Fund and the General Education Board.

The Center is under the direction of a thirty-member Board of Trustees. Twenty of these trustees come from the four participating schools. The remaining ten are members-at-large chosen without regard to denominational affiliation. The Trustees employ the faculty, set the policies and manage the physical and financial resources of the Center.

The Center was fully accredited by the American Association of Theological Schools at the biennial meeting in Richmond, Va., in June, 1960. The President of the Interdenominational Theological Center is Dr. Brunson and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees is Bishop B. Julian Smith.

The following persons have served as dean and/or president and directors of the Phillips School of Technology:

Dr. Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., First Dean and President
Dr. U. Z. McKennon, Dean
Dr. M. L. Darnell, Director-Dean
Dr. A. L. Dopson, currently Dean

The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Phillips School of Theology is Bishop E. P. Murchison.

From the brief histories of these schools, we can see that the members of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church were doubly taxed, as were members of all Black denominations. They had to pay taxes so that their children could attend school; and they also had to tax themselves to support the church-related schools for Blacks. In those early days, most of the money raised in the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church went for education; and today, 102 years after the founding of the first school, the largest percent of our national church budget goes for education—40.6%. Were it not for the C. M. E. Church and other denominations, I fear the majority of Blacks would have been denied the privilege of attending elementary school, high school, or even college. Because of this contribution to American life, we feel justly proud.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Othal Hawthorne Lakey, *The Rise of Colored Methodism* (Dallas, Texas: Cresendo Book Publications, 1972), p. 1.

[2] Gunnar Mydral, *An Amercian Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1944), p. 942.

[3] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), p. 44.

[4] John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: *A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopp, 1963), p. 397.

[5] Lakey, p. 2.

[6] Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., *Our Faith, Heritage and Church* (n.p. n.d.), p. 41.

[7] John B. Cade, *Holsey The Incomparable* (New York: Pageant Press, Inc. n.d.), p. 21.

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Cade, John Brother. *Holsey—The Incomparable.* New York: Pageant Press, Ind. n.d.

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A SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CARIBBEAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN ENGLISH

Henry C. Chang
College of the Virgin Islands

PURPOSE

This publication will benefit not only the libraries in their attempt to develop reference tools on Caribbean areas, but also the scholar studying Caribbean problems. This bibliography will provide the researcher with essential information necessary for him to locate the sources of Caribbean bibliographies in English in various research collections.

However, since there is a lack of a systematic index system for Caribbean publications in English, many primary and secondary sources are not currently accessible to scholars. A thorough review of Caribbean literature indicates that there are no bibliographies of English Caribbean bibliographies currently available. Therefore, researchers rely on the bibliographic tool to discover the information and sources they need and yet find it very difficult to do so. Very often, the researcher is forced to give up the work because of the lack of such bibliographical tools. This bibliography of bibliographies will help to solve this problem and, thus, assist all researchers and scholars in this field to find all available sources they require for their research work.

Thus, the gathering together of all available written material into one general reference guide is a necessity for scholarly research. For this reason, the writer has attempted to compile an annotated bibliography to provide scholars with a reference tool that may lead to more comprehensive information and interpretation.

SCOPE

The publication of a bibliography limited to English language works does not imply that an adequate knowledge of the countries and people of the Caribbean can be acquired without a working knowledge of their languages. The amount and scope of the literature on the Caribbean, in English, is inadequate for this purpose.

The Caribbean area, in a broader sense, consists of a heterogeneous group of republics and other political entities. It generally refers to the Greater and the Lesser Antilles. For the purpose of this publication, the term "Caribbean," is understood to encompass the following areas: Bermuda, all countries in the West Indies and in Central America, Columbia, Venezuela and the Guianas.

The user of the bibliography should keep in mind that it has a frankly selective character. Some publications have been omitted, either by intention or oversight. Any attempt at completeness would have made this bibliography unwieldly and would have interferred with its main purpose, which is that of serving as a first guide to pertinent Caribbean bibliographies in English. The problem of what to exclude has been a perplexing one. The list has been developed from titles noted by the writer for his own use, and thus, it is practical in character. It should at least help to unlock the door to the great body of Caribbean literature in the English language.

There are some criteria governing the inclusion of those bibliographies. Some of the guidelines are as follows:

1. Sources written in English.
2. Publications written about the Caribbean and not necessarily from the Caribbean.
3. References to the Caribbean which appear in more general works have normally been omitted.
4. Only those general works that relate more specifically to the Caribbean and are important to the bibliographies.
5. Some titles or works are entered because of their rarity or historical interest.
6. Only publications issued in the form of books, pamphlets and documents were included.

ARRANGEMENT

This bibliography is comprised of all available English bibliographies pertaining to the area of Caribbean studies. The collected information includes author, title, imprint, pagination, location of the source, and a brief annotation for each entry.

Annotations are included to provide additional publication data, to clarify content, or to identify the author or subject in instances where this information may be helpful to the user. No critical comments are made; annotations are entirely descriptive in nature.

Arrangement is alphabetical by main entry, which in this case is the personal or corporate author. Individual entries have been assigned numbers relating to their alphabetical position in the listing for purposes of organization and convenience.

Two indexes are provided:

1. Title index in alphabetical order.
2. Subject index—keyword, mainly taken from the titles of the publications themselves.

The indexes refer to any entry number which then must be tracked down in the section of main entries. It is regretted that the indexes cannot provide at least partial bibliographic information by themselves, but limitations of time, staff and money have forced abbreviation.

LIMITATIONS

A number of factors are probably responsible for the limitations of this bibliography:

1. This bibliography is not all-inclusive. It is restricted by whatever available sources found from those research collections surveyed.
2. This work is limited to those bibliographies in English only. A majority of Caribbean bibliographies is written in Spanish.
3. The complicated aspects of this project include the difficulty of determining which general sources comprising Caribbean bibliographies needed to be contained in this work. Insufficient funding, as well as limited time, even further handicapped the entire project.
4. Due to the fact that the Caribbean collections are scattered in several different places, it was difficult to collect the data. Access to some of the materials was limited, increasing the inconvenience to the researcher. As a result, this work may not have gathered all existing Caribbean bibliographies in English.
5. Due to the generally broad nature of these publications, entries for catalogs of the Latin American collections in various libraries have not been included. It is assumed that serious researchers would know to examine these sources.
6. Since only books, pamphlets and documents are included, it should be kept in mind that some of the most valuable sources of information on Caribbean studies are articles in periodicals. These should be sought in such guides as the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, The Handbook of Latin American Studies,* etc.

In spite of all these aforementioned limitations, this bibliography is still, at least, the first of its kind, if not the best. Hopefully, this work may lead to further study in this field and inspire the publication of a more comprehensive demographic, bibliography in the future.

CODE TO RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

All references in this bibliography have the library source identified by code. References with library notations do not mean that they cannot be found elsewhere. It only indicates that this source can be located in the identified library collection.

CVI	College of the Virgin Islands
LC	Library of Congress
M	University of Miami
Mn	University of Minnesota
STPL	St. Thomas Public Library, U. S. Virgin Islands

LIST OF ENTRIES

1. Albanell MacColl, Norah

Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Puerto Rico: A Selected Bibliography on The Caribbean Area, Including Only Islands Which are Members of The Organization of American States. Gainesville, Florida: School of Inter-American Studies, University of Florida, 1956. 35p (Mimeo).

This bibliography covers the period from 1950 to 1956. It is divided by countries. Within each division, all entries are arranged in alphabetical order. This work was prepared for the 7th annual conference on the Caribbean. M

2. Alcala, V. O.

A Bibliography of Education in The Caribbean. Central Secretariat, Caribbean Commission, 1959. 144p.

This volume is comprised of three sections: the first dealing with education in general; the second with instructional material related to the Caribbean; and the third with government serials, periodicals produced by educational bodies or associations and other journals dealing with education, which are edited in the Caribbean. An author index and a subject index are included. Entries have been arranged chronologically, by the date of publication, for national groups of countries and units of these groups. The bibliography traces educational development from the earliest periods. M

3. Aregood, Carol C.

Bibliography of Marine Sciences. St. Thomas: College of the Virgin Islands, 1974. 74 p. (Mimeo)

This annotated bibliography is a list of the marine science holdings of the Ralph Paiewonsky Library, College of the Virgin

Islands. All entries are grouped in alphabetical order by authors under the following subject categories: General Reference, General Oceanography, Historical and Non-technical Oceanography, Physical Oceanography, Chemical Oceanography, Coasts and Beaches, Islands and Coral Reefs, Marine Biology and Ecology, Marine Animals, Marine Plants, Seashore Life, Uses and Resources of the Oceans, Undersea Technology, Pollution in the Marine Environment, Politics and Marine Environments and Periodicals. CVI

4. Baa, Enid M.

Doctoral Dissertations and Selected Theses on Caribbean Topics Accepted by The University of Canada, The United States and Europe, from 1778-1968. St. Thomas: Bureau of Public Libraries and Museums, Department of Conservation and Cultural Affairs, Government of the Virgin Islands, United States, 1969. 91p. (Mimeo).

This is an interim annotated edition of the *Bibliography of Theses on Caribbean Topics.* This list contains mainly doctoral dissertations and some selected masters theses. There are KWIC indexes, author indexes, a chronological index, and a university index. MN

5. Baa, Enid M.

Theses on Caribbean Topics 1778-1968. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean Studies and University of Puerto Rico Press, 1970. 146p. (Caribbean Bibliographies Series No. 1).

This work contains a list of doctoral dissertations as well as masters theses on Caribbean topics. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Indexes include an index of universities by country, and a geographical index. As far as the comprehensiveness of the work is concerned, only theses from two European countries, France and England, and the United States are fairly well covered. MN

6. Baker, E. C.

A Guide to Records in The Leeward Islands. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, (published for the University of the West Indies), 1965. 102p.

A companion volume to Chandler's *Guide to Barbados Records.* It is comprised of a section on federal records, followed by sections on the records of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, and the British Virgin Islands, each arranged by repository and including historical and descriptive notes. MN

7.

A Guide to Records in The Windward Islands. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell and Mott, 1968. 95p.

This guide provides a record of manuscripts and official government publications, newspapers, church records, and other materials in the Windward Islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica. An index to the record groups is provided. MN

8. Bayitch, S. A.

Latin America: A Bibliographical Guide to Economy History and Law, Politics, and Society. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1961. 335p. (University of Miami School of Law, Inter-American Legal Studies #6).

This guide is divided into five parts. Part One contains data on bibliographical and reference works. Part Two lists items containing general information on Latin America, followed by subheadings concerning culture, economy, history, law, politics and society. In Part Three, selected background materials are given. Parts Four and Five both list materials by subjects. Within each subject category, entries are arranged in alphabetical order.

CVI

9.

Latin America and The Caribbean: A Bibliographical Guide to Works in English. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press and Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1967. 943p. (University of Miami School of Law, Interamerican Legal Studies. Volume 10.)

This work is a listing of sources dealing with economic, legal and political matters in Latin America and the Caribbean. The guide is designed to serve two kinds of bibliographical searchers: 1) those trying to find items dealing with a topic in general; and 2) those consulting the guide for items concerning a particular country. An index in the back of the book also assists the reader in locating the reference. It is a good source for political and economic studies, and it includes many citations from periodical articles.

STPL

10. Behrendt, Richard F.

Modern Latin America in Social Science Literature: A Selected Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Periodicals in English in The Field of Economics, Politics and Sociology of Latin America. Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, [c. 1949]. 152p. (Supplement I published by the Pan American Union, 1950).

This is an integrated, selected list of reference materials published in English on Latin America social problems. In addition to the twenty countries usually included in "Latin American" area, some items on Puerto Rico, the U. S. Virgin Islands, and other countries in the Caribbean area are to be found. All entries are arranged by subject and country. An index is included at the end of the book.

CVI

11. Benewick, Anne

A List of Books on West Indian Federation. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, West Indian Reference Library, 2nd edition, 1962, 47p. (Mimeo).

This is the second edition of the list originally produced by the West Indian Reference Library in 1957. The emphasis of the approach to the subject, however, has now been changed to the history of the government of the West Indies. Section I of the list is arranged alphabetically by author. Section II consists of most works on federation in the West Indies since 1947. This section has been arranged by subject alphabetically. An index is provided at the end of the list so that the works can be located by author, title, catchword, or other association. Section III is a guide to periodicals. M

12. Blizzard, Flora Helena
West Indians in Canada: A Selective Annotated Bibliography. Guelph, The Library: University of Guelph, 1970. 41p. (Bibliographic Series 1).

This list contains government publications, monographs and articles on West Indians and their activities in Canada. Historical and contemporary. MN

13. Boston College. Library.
Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, etc. in The Caribbean Section (Specializing in Jamaica) of The Nicholas M. Williams Memorial Ethnological Collection. Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts: Boston College Library, 1932. 133p.

This work contains a list of Caribbean materials in the library collection. The book is divided into the following areas: Discovery, Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, Lesser Antilles, Mexico, Central America, Piracy, Slavery and General Works. Within each area all entries are arranged in alphabetical order by authors. There is no index available. LC

14. Boston Public Library
Bibliotheca Barbadiensis: A Catalog of Materials Relating to Barbados, 1650-1860 In The Boston Public Library. Boston, 1968. 27p.

This list represents a survey of sources on Barbados in the Boston Public Library. Because of the emphasis on emancipation and anti-slavery, the terminal date for this survey was set at the outbreak of the American Civil War. All entries are arranged in chronological order. Besides printed materials, it includes manuscripts, maps, index of names, subjects and titles, as well as an index of donors, former owners, etc. MN

15. Bravo, Enrique
An Annotated, Selected Puerto Rican Bibliography. New York: Urban Center of Columbia University. [c. 1972]. 114p (Translated by Marcial Cuevas).

Selected for inclusion in this bibliography are those works which are considered to be classics, as well as those works which are most relevant to the contemporary Puerto Rican experience. A supplementary bibliography is presented at the end of each chapter. The document does not include unpublished doctoral or masters theses, newspaper or magazine articles. All entries are grouped by subject. An informative appendix and a general index are included at the end. CVI

16. British Virgin Islands. Public Library.

Tortolana: A Bibliography. Road Town, Tortola: Public Library, 1968. 9p. (Mimeo).

This list consists of the holdings of the British Virgin Islands, materials in the Tortola Public Library. It is arranged in broad subject headings according to decimal classification. The subentries are arranged by author and title as indicated in parentheses at the beginning of each sequence. STPL

17. Brooklyn College. Institute of Puerto Rican Studies.

The Puerto Rican People: A Selected Bibliography for Use in Social Work Education. New York: Council on Social Work Education. [c. 1973]. 54p.

This bibliography is a partial listing of existing literature written about Puerto Ricans. Since the bibliography is primarily geared to use by social workers, emphasis has been given to the literature on current social change and social problems. The work is divided into two parts: focus on Puerto Rico and focus on the United States. Entries from each part are arranged in alphabetical order by authors. MN

18. Brown, Ann Duncan

Puerto Rico: A Selected List of Recent References. Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1943. 44p. (Mimeo).

Entries in the reference list are grouped by the following: subject, bibliographies, general, description and travel, economic and social conditions, education, industry, resources and commerce, politics and good references. An author index is included at the end. LC

19. Brunn, Stanley

Urbanization in Developing Countries: An International Bibliography. East Lansing: Latin American Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1971. 693p. (Latin American Studies Center Research Report #8).

This bibliography contains over 7,000 entries. It has a separate section on the West Indies. Items are entered according to the geographical location of the subject. For each broad regional category or individual country, the entries are arranged in alphabetical order, either by last name of the author or by the title of the publication. Entries are not cross-referenced in the bibliography, but they are in the subject index. M

20. Bryant, Shasta M.

A Selective Bibliography of Bibliographies of Hispanic American Literature. Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, 1966. 48p. (Basin Biliographies, Series III).

This work is the third of the "Basic Bibliographies" published by the Division of Philosophy and Letters. It aims to assemble bibliographical sources on topics of interest for the study of culture in the new world. Since the list is limited primarily to bibliographies in which literature is paramount, many general reference works have purposely been omitted. The index contains the name of all persons mentioned, plus certain general category headings such as "Puerto Rican Literature," "Translations," etc. CVI

21. Caribbean Commission

Current Caribbean Bibliography. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: Caribbean Commission. **Four numbers per year, 1951-53; Annual 1954. Issue for December 1953, (Volume III, #3/4); 1951-57, Volume I-VII); Cumulative from 1950.** Editor of 1951-53, H. Holdsworth. (Ceased publication).

A listing of publications issued in the Caribbean territories of France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. Volume 7 (1957) has a special feature: *"A Bibliography of West Indian Literature 1900-1957,"* compiled by E. Berthe Canton, p. 1-56. This includes the titles classified as Belles-lettres, published in the areas noted above MN M

22.

Selected Bibliography of Trade Publications with Special Reference to Caribbean Trade Statistics: A Manual for the Guidance of Research Workers in Identifying Useful Sources of Trade Statistics and Published Ground Rules in the Preparation of Trade Accounts. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, 1954. 54p. (Compiled in the Statistical Unit, Research Branch Central Secretariat).

The entries are arranged by the agency issuing the publication, rather than by the country to which the data refers. The first deals with publications issued by world organizations, such as the United Nations. The second deals with sources issued by regional agencies such as the Caribbean Commission. The entries for each country or published agency are arranged alphabetically. Most of the sources are annotated. M MN

23. Chaffee, Wilber A., Jr. & Honor M. Griffin

Dissertations on Latin America by United States Historians, 1960-1970: A Bibliography. Austin, Texas: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1973. 62p. (Guides and Bibliographies Series #7).

This bibliography collects all of the doctoral dissertations done on topics of Latin American history in the United States from 1960 to 1970. It is the seventh of a series of special bibliographical publications of the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin. The bibliographic entries are grouped by country and arranged in alphabetical order within the groups by the author's last name. Each entry is followed by information on the availability of the dissertation on interlibrary loan or microfilm. Notes are also made as to whether the dissertation appears in *Dissertation Abstracts.* M MN

24. Chandler, M. J.

A Guide to Records in Barbados. Oxford, England: B. Blackwell, for the University of the West Indies, 1965. 204p.

This is the first of a planned series surveying the records of the English-speaking territories of the West Indies. Records are grouped according to class-central and local government, semi-public, ecclesiastical, private and listed by repository as they existed in 1961. Historical notes on government departments are given. This guide also contains a subject index. MN

25. Charno, Steven M.

Latin American Newspapers in United States Libraries: A Union List. Austin, Texas: Published for the Conference on Latin American History, in the United States, by the University of Texas Press. [c. 1968]. 619p. (Conference on Latin American History Publication No. 2).

This Union list provides a record of some 5,000 Latin American newspapers owned by seventy reporting libraries. The arrangement of the publications in this volume is based on the place of publication, first by country, and then by city. Under each city the entries are arranged in alphabetical order by title. The bibliographic entry for each title includes the title, periodicity and the date of establishment. Microfilm holdings are listed immediately following the bound material. M

26. Chilcote, Ronald H.

Revolution and Structural Change in Latin America: A Bibliography on Ideology, Development, and the Radical Deft (1930-1965). Stanford, California: Stanford University, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1970. 2 volumes. (Volume I—Argentina-Columbia, 668p.). (Volume II—Cuba-Venezuela, 603p.).

This bibliography is organized into several general and national sections. Introductory notes have been added to each section, assessing the usefulness and availability of secondary and primary sources. Each section is divided into books and pamphlets, relevant articles, and periodicals. All entries within each section are arranged in alphabetical order. There is an author index, a subject index, and a periodical index at the end of the second volume. Informational introductory notes have been added to each category in the subject index. M

27. Childs, James B.

A Guide to the Official Publications of the Other American Republics: VII Cuba. Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress [1945]. 40p.

This guide provides information about the official publications of Cuba. This is the seventh part of a comprehensive guide initiated in the fiscal year, 1941, as a part of the program of the Department of State for cooperation with the other American republics. This guide is arranged by the governmental agencies and includes an index. MN

28. Clagett, Helen L.

A Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Venezuela. Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1947. 128p. (Latin America Series #16).

This guide provides information on law and legal literature of Venezuela. It is arranged by subject headings. In the citation of laws and codes throughout the volume, reference has been made to their sources in official collections of laws only when a separate printing was not located. An index to names is provided for further reference. **MN**

29. Cole, George Watson

Bermuda in Periodical Literature with Occasional Reference to Other Works: A Bibliography. Boston: The Boston Books Company, 1907. 275p.

This is a guide to written materials concerning Bermuda, which appeared in various periodicals and the publications of learned societies. This list is arranged by the name of the periodical, in alphabetical order. A comprehensive index is appended so that the subject can be traced. **M**

30. Comitas, Lambros

Caribbeana 1900-1965: A Topical Bibliography. Seattle, Washington: Published for the Research Institute for the Study of Man by the University of Washington Press, 1968. 909p.

This bibliography focuses on the non-Hispanic territories of the Caribbean region. The primary organization of the bibliography is topical rather than geographical. This volume contains over 7,000 complete references to authored books, monographs, reports, articles, and miscellaneous publications. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses are also included. This book is divided thematically into ten major sections: Introduction to the Caribbean; the Past; the Peoples; Elements of Culture; Health, Education, Welfare; Political Classes; the Environment and Human Geography; Socio-economic Activities and Institutions; Soils; Crops and Livestock; and Economic and Social Prospects. Each section is further subdivided into topically related chapters. Each entry contains the following information: name of author, reference number, geographical code, year of publication title of reference, publication, information, secondary topics, and library code. There are two indexes: an author index and a geographical index. **CVI**

31. Committee on Latin America

Latin American Economic and Social Serials. [Hamden, Conneticut]: Published on behalf of COLA by Archon Books and Clive Bingley. [1969]. 89p.

This work contains Latin American economic and social serials. The main section of the work consists of title entries with information and holdings grouped by area. Serials published in each area are listed in alphabetical order by title. The indexes consist of an index sponsoring bodies, an index of titles, and an index of library symbols. **LC**

32. Cordasco, Francisco

Puerto Ricans on the United States Mainland: A Bibliography of Reports, Texts, Critical Studies and Related Materials.

Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972. 146p.

The six sections of the bibliography comprehend a representative register of titles which afford a fully dimensional overview of bibliographical resources; of the migration to the mainland; of the island experience; and of the mainland experience (social context and education). Many of the entries are annotated. An index is included at the end of the book. MN

33. Cundall, Frank

Bibliographia Jamaicensis: A List of Jamaican Books and Pamphlets, Magazine Articles, Newspapers, and Maps, Most of Which Are in The Library of The Institute of Jamaica. Kingston, Jamaica: The Institute of Jamaica. [1902]. 93p.

The books in this volume are classified under the various subject headings. A few notes of general cross-reference have been added to the classification. The works are arranged, under their headings, in chronological order. An index of names of authors and subjects of biographical notice will be found at the end of the book. M

34.

Bibliography of The West Indies (Excluding Jamaica). Kingston, Jamaica: The Institute of Jamaica, 1909. Reprinted by Johnson Reprint Company, New York, 1971. 179p.

This is a list of sources pertaining to the West Indies, excluding Jamaica. The entries are arranged chronologically under divisions; starting with the island of Barbados, and taking each of the islands northward and eastward successively, returning along Central and South America, and concluding with the Windward group. An index is available to provide all references to all books contained in the list. CVI

35. Delattre, Rae

A Guide to Jamaican Reference Material in The West Indian Reference Library. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1965. 77p.

This is a listing of reference materials in the West Indian Reference Library. It is arranged by topics and subjects, and then further subdivided into two sections: Caribbean and Jamaica. Each entry is supplemented by a brief annotation. For the purpose of cross reference, it provides an author index as well as a title index. CVI

36. Engler, Marjorie

Caribbean: Fiction and Poetry. New York: Center for Inter-American Relations. [c. 1970]. 86p.

This volume includes works of fiction and poetry by Caribbean authors published in the United States and Great Britain since 1900. Those works that have been translated into English from the French, Dutch, and Spanish speaking Caribbean were also included. This work is divided into the following sections: Anthologies, Poetry, Short Stories, Novels, and Indexes. The indexes include authors, titles, original titles (when not in English) and countries. M MN

37. Florida. University Library. Technical Processes Department.
Caribbean Acquisitions. Gainesville, Florida. Yearly. Pages vary.

This publication contains all the Caribbean materials cataloged by the University of Florida libraries during the year. It includes books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, serials, maps, microforms, etc. It omits materials cataloged by the Law, Agriculture, and Health Center Libraries. These materials are arranged as follows: Sections I to IX list materials about the Caribbean, regardless of place of publication; Section I lists other works published in the Caribbean, but which do not deal with the Caribbean area. M

38. Ford, Jeremiah D. M. & Maxwell I. Raphael
A Bibliography of Cuban Belles-Lettres. New York: Russell and Russell. [1933]. 204p.

This work is divided into four parts. Part I contains a list of general reference works. Part II is comprised of an alphabetical list of Cuban writers. Part III contains a list of anonymous or collection works. Part IV lists periodicals published in Cuba and devoted entirely, or in part, to belles-lettres. LC

39. Fort, Gilberto V.
The Cuban Revolution of Fidel Castro Viewed from Abroad: An Annotated Bibliography. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Libraries, 1969. 142p. (University of Kansas Publication Library Series 34).

This annotated bibliography is a listing of all references to books and pamphlets about the revolution (Cuban), published on the American continents, with the exception of Canada and Cuba. Periodical articles are excluded. The works are classified under subjects and are listed in chronological order by the year of its publication, and then alphabetically by the author's surname. A general index of authors and editors is given at the end of the volume. M MN

40. Goldsmith, Peter H.
A Brief Bibliography of Books in English Spanish and Portuguese, Relating to The Republics Commonly Called Latin American, with Comments. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1915. 107p.

All entries in this volume are arranged in alphabetical order by the main entry. It is supplemented by an index by countries and subject. Each entry provides detailed bibliographical information as well as an annotation. LC

41. Griffin, A. P. C.
A List of Books, (With Reference to Periodicals), on The Danish West Indies. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1901. 18p. (Blank pages). (Typewritten supplementary list of references on the Danish West Indies, 1931. 8p.).

This bibliography lists books and articles relating to the Danish West Indies. Section I contains books in alphabetical order by authors. Section II contains articles in periodicals in chronological order. Section III contains articles in the United States Consular Reports. Section IV contains articles, etc. in Danish Government Publications, a typewritten supplementary list, 1868-1870, of references on the Danish West Indies. STPL

42. Griffin, Charles C.

Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature. Austin, Texas, The University of Texas Press, 1971. 700p.

This work provides a selective scholarly bibliography accompanied by critical annotations, and covering the whole field of Latin American history. The basic organization of the Guide is chronological, with main division devoted to the colonial, independence and post-independence periods. With these major parts, separate sections deal with the various geographical areas. The organization of these parts of the volume is topical and geographical, rather than chronological. M MN

43. Gropp, Arthur E.

A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1968. 515p. Supplement, 1971. 277p. (An updating of the second edition (1942), compiled by C. K. Jones in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress).

The 1968 edition contains 7,210 references plus 1,416 items for the 1971 supplement. The arrangement is grouping by subject, with geographical subdivisions under which entries are listed alphabetically by author. Occasionally, subject subdivisions are used. This work is a listing of bibliographic information about Latin American publications. It includes all references to bibliographies published, and citations to bibliographies published through 1969. CVI

44. Hill, Marnesba D. and Harold B. Schleifer

Puerto Rican Authors: A Bibliographic Handbook. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1974. 267p.

This handook is a bilingual annotated, bio-bibliographical guide to the history and literature of Puerto Rico by Puerto Rican writers from 1943 to the present. Biographical statements are arranged alphabetically by author, with see references from pseudonyms interfiled. Each entry is under the most commonly used form of the name. Brief annotations of significant works compliment the biographical information. Three indexes are included to facilitate use: a topical index, a historical index, and a title index. CVI

45. Hills, Theo L.

Caribbean Topics: Theses in Canadian University Libraries. Montreal, Canada: Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, 1973. 25p.

This is a listing of Caribbean theses in various Canadian

University Libraries. All entries are grouped by the name of the institution. Within each institution, entries are arranged by subjects. This book includes a subject index as well as a country index. LC

46. Hiss, Phillip Hanson

A Selective Guide to the English Literature on the Netherlands West Indies: With A Supplement on British Guiana. New York: The Netherlands Information Bureau, 1943. 129p.

This is a bibliography of the English literature of Curacao and Surinam, with a supplement on British Guiana. This volume is divided into two sections. Section I is devoted to Curacao, and Section II is devoted to Surinam. All entries are arranged by the subject categories. Within each category, entries are arranged in alphabetical order. This book also contains an author index. M

47. Hitt, Deborah S. and Larman C. Wilson

A Selected Bibliography of The Dominican Republic: A Century after the Restoration of Independence. Washington, D. C.: The American University Center for Research in Social Systems, 1968. 142p.

This is a selected bibliography of unclassified books, articles and public documents on the Dominican Republic of the twentieth century. Most references are in English or Spanish. The entries have been divided, and in some cases cross-referenced, according to their pertinence to the social, economic, historical, security, and political aspects of Dominican life. LC

48. Hodge, Derek

Bibliography of Data on The Virgin Islands Available in the Von Scholten Collection, Public Library, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. St. Thomas, Virgin Islands: (Publisher not given), 1967. 79p. Typewritten.

This selective bibliography contains material dealing with the political, economic, and social aspects of the Virgin Islands in the Von Scholten Collection of the St. Thomas Public Library, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. The first section of the bibliography is a general author-title listing which is annotated. Section Two focuses on the material which has been microfilmed. Section Three is a chronological and topical index. STPL

49. Humphreys, Robin A.

Latin America. London, England: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1941. 36p. (Chatham House Bibliographies).

This work contains a list of sources pertaining to the following areas: The Land and the Environment, Ancient Peoples and Civilizations, The Spanish and Portuguese Colonies, History, International Relations, Latin American Republics, and Travels. Impressions and Imaginative Literature. Entries in most areas are arranged in alphabetical order by author. There is no index included in this book. LC

50. Institute of Jamaica

Jamaican National Bibliography. Kingston, Jamaica, 1970. 51p.

This work lists material published in Jamaica, about Jamaica, and written by Jamaicans, from 1965 to 1970. The bibliography consists of books, pamphlets, microfilms, manuscripts, the general index, periodicals, newspapers, and a periodical index. STPL

51. Jamaica Library Service

Jamaica: A Selected Bibliography, 1900-1963. Jamaica: (Publisher not given). 1963. 115p.

This selected bibliography aims at including the more important publications of the twentieth century dealing with all aspects of Jamaica. The entries are arranged under broad subject headings which have been determined by the type of publications available. A select list of current periodicals is included and a name index brings together all the publications about, or by the author. MN

52. Johnson, Peter J.

Source Materials for Latin American Studies at The University of Minnesota: A Selective Bibliographic Guide. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Latin American Studies Program, University of Minnesota, 1973. n.p.

This guide provides a list of sources of materials for Latin American studies, available at the University of Minnesota Libraries. The call numbers are provided to identify their locations. The guide is divided into three parts. Part One lists all basic bibliographic and reference materials. Part Two lists source materials by countries, and Part Three gives a list of journals in this field. MN

53. Jones, C. K.

A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. [1942]. 307p. (2nd edition).

This list includes bibliographies, collections, biographies, histories of literature and some general reference works. All entries are grouped by countries. In regards to the arrangement, catalogs of national libraries and other institutions have been placed in their respective country divisions, rather than in the section of general works. An index is included at the end. LC

54.

Hispanic American Bibliographies Including Collective Biographies, Histories of Literature and Selected General Works. Baltimore, Maryland: The Hispanic American Historical Review, 1922. 200p.

This bibliography is primarily divided into two sections. The first section provides a general and miscellaneous list of materials in alphabetical order. The second section constitutes a list of materials by countries. Within each section by country, entries are arranged in alphabetical order by authors. At the end of the book, there are critical notes on sources by Jose Toribio Medina and an index. CVI

55. Kantor, Harry

Bibliography of Jose Figueres. Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1972. 50p.

This bibliography contains practically all of the writing of Jose Figueres, and most of what has been written about him. The work consists of two parts. Part One is the writings of Jose Figueres arranged by titles. Part Two consists of books and articles about Jose Figueres in alphabetical order by authors. Part One is also arranged in alphabetical order. This work does not have an index. MN

56.

Latin American Political Parties: A Bibliography. [Gainesville, Florida]: Reference and Bibliography Department, University of Florida Libraries. 1968. 113p.

This is a list of materials pertaining to the Latin American Political Parties. This bibliography is arranged by countries. In each section by country, entries are grouped and arranged by political parties. There is no index available for cross references. M

57. Lines, Jorge A.

Anthropological Bibliography of Aboriginal Costa Rica. San Jose, Costa Rica: Tropical Science Center, 1967. 196p. (Occasional Paper #7).

The entries presented in this bibliography include the incidents of discovery and colonization, the contact with aboriginal groups and their geographical setting, and studies concerning their anthropology in the widest sense. Citations and references are included up to the end of 1964. All entries are arranged by authors in alphabetical order. No index is included. M

58. Mesa, Rosa Quintero

Latin American Serial Documents: A Holding List, Volume 3; Cuba. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1969. 207p.

The publication of this volume in Cuba is one of the projected series of nineteen volumes entitled *Latin American Serial Documents.* Each volume is an inclusive bibliography showing holdings in the United States and Canada for as many serial documents as could be identified for the country, from the time of the country's formation. This work is a holding list of Cuban serial documents. All entries are arranged in alphabetical order. M

59. Minkel, Clarence and Ralph Alderman

A Bibliography of British Honduras, 1900-1970. East Lansing, Michigan: Latin American Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1970. 93p. (Research Report #7).

This list contains more than 1,000 references on a wide variety of topics about British Honduras. The bibliography is divided into five major sections: Physical, Cultural, Economic, Political, and General. This work does not provide a cross-reference index. MN

60. Mona, Jamaica. University of the West Indies Library.

West Indian Literature: A Select Bibliography. Mona, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Library, 1964. 32p. (Supplement 1964-67. Mona, 1967. 8p.).

This work was based on "A Bibliography of West Indian Literature, 1900-57," compiled by E. Berthe Cantan, and published by the Caribbean Commission in Current Caribbean Bibliography, Vol. 7, 1957, p. 1-56. It was confined to the literature of the British Caribbean and supplemented by additional works. All entries are grouped by subject. M

61. National Book League, London.

The Commonwealth in The Caribbean: An Annotated List. London, England: National Book League, 1969. 16p.

This is an annotated reading list. All titles are arranged by subject headings as follows: Description and Travel, History and Biography, Sociology, Education, Politics, Government, Economy, Language and Literature (Poetry, Drama, Music), Fiction, and Children's Books. MN

62. National Education Association of the United States. Research Division.

Latin American Background: A Bibliography. Washington, D. C.: [c. 1941]. 48p.

This bibliography is divided into the following sections: The Country, The People, The Nation's Work, Transportation and Communication, History and Government, Inter-American Relations, Travel, Fiction, Biography, and Children's Books. Each section contains a list of materials in alphabetical order by authors. It is supplemented by an appendix which consists of teaching aids and a country index. LC

63. The New York Public Library.

List of Works Relating to The West Indies. New York, 1912. 392p.

This work is a list of all materials related to the individual islands and colonies in the West Indies. All entries are arranged by countries. It includes a supplement and an index. LC

64. O'Leary, Timothy J.

Ethnographic Bibliography of South America. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1963. 387p.

This is a listing of published ethnographic materials, primarily on continental South America, except for covering Venezuela of the Caribbean Islands. The work is organized by areas. Within each area by tribal group, it is generally arranged in alphabetical order. Under the area headings are included regional studies, geographical and historical sources, travel accounts, citations which could be assigned to any of the tribal headings, and materials which are not specifically related to any particular tribal group. The work contains an index of tribal names. It is a list of tribes, subtribes, bands, and other ethnic units which occur most frequently in literature. STPL

65. Pariseau, Earl J.
Cuban Acquisitions and Bibliography: Proceedings and Working Papers of an International Conference Held at The Library of Congress 1970. Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1970. 164p.

This work contains proceedings and working papers of an International Conference on Cuban bibliography, scholarly resources, and acquisitions. The five working papers include: Cuba; A Guide to Resources in the Library of Congress; Problems of Acquisition of the Cuban Library; Resources in the United Kingdom for the Study of Cuba Since 1868; Resources in Spain For the Study of Cuba Since 1868; and Resources in Germany For the Study of Cuba Since 1868. MN

66. Peraza, Fermin
Revolutionary Cuba: A Bibliographical Guide, 1966. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1967. 188p. (Research Study Series prepared by The Research Institute of Cuba and the Caribbean Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami).

The current number lists books, booklets, and pamphlet materials published in or about Cuba in the year 1966, to 695 entries. A few entries pertain to the period 1959 to 1965, and have been included when notice has been received or classification has been first made in 1966. Each entry is numbered in alphabetical order by author or title, with an analytical index by author, title and subject matter keyed on entry numbers. Each entry contains the following data: author, title, place of publication, editor or publisher, year of publication, illustrations, pagination or volume numbers, and series. This publication does not include periodicals, newspapers, magazines, etc., which are covered in a separate yearly publication, "Directory of Cuba Magazines and Newspapers." LC M MN

67. Peraza, Fermin
Revolutionary Cuba: A Bibliographical Guide, 1967. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, [c. 1969]. 244p.

This work contains a list of 911 entries. It includes all materials published in or about Cuba in the year 1967. All entries are arranged in alphabetical order. An analytical index is included at the end of the volume. LC M MN

68.
Revolutionary Cuba: A Bibliographical Guide, 1968. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, [c. 1970]. 262p.

This publication is the third of this series. It lists all materials published in or about Cuba in the year 1968. A total of 969 entries are included. All entries are numbered in alphabetical order. There is an analytical index at the end of this book. LC M MN

69. Ragatz, Lowell Joseph
A Guide for The Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834, Including the Abolition of Slavery and the Emancipation

Movements. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1932. 725p. (71st Congress, 3rd Session, House Document #813).

This guide covers the critical periods in British West Indian history, witnessing the spectacular transition from opulence and commending position to ruin and stagnation. Entries are annotated and arranged by subject categories. A comprehensive index, containing author, title, subject and proper name entries, is included at the end. MN

70. Ragatz, Lowell J.

Writings on The Caribbean Dependencies, 1928-1958. Columbus, Ohio. 1958. 74p. [c. 1962-Supplement (113p.)]. (Pre-print edition:) (Mimeo).

These works contain a listing of materials on Caribbean dependencies. The bibliography and its supplement were arranged by countries. Within each section by single country, all entries were grouped by subject. M

71. Reid, Charles F., et al

Bibliography of The Virgin Islands of The United States. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1941. 225p.

This work contains sources of books, periodicals, government documents and manuscripts pertaining to the United States Virgin Islands. The bibliography is divided into many subject areas. Each section is arranged in alphabetical order by author. An alphabetical index is included at the end of the volume. Not all the references on the Virgin Islands or the Danish West Indies are annotated. There are some entries in the Danish language, unavailable in the United States, which necessitated an annotation by means of a translation of the title. STPL

72. Rodrique, Mario and Vincent O. Peloso

A Guide for the Study of Culture in Central America (Humanities and Social Science). Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, 1968. (Basic Bibliographies, V).

This volume is divided into three sections. Part I, entitled "Reference Works," includes bibliographies, reference and documentary sets, and cultural journals. The sub-categories are as follows: 1) Central America, 2) Costa Rica, 3) El Salvador, 4) Guatemala, 5) Honduras, 6) Nicaragua, 7) and Panama. In Part II, entitled "Books and Special Articles," the sub-categories are the same as those in Part I. An author index is included at the end. LC

73. Roth, Henry Ling

Bibliography and Cartography of Hispanola. London, England: Royal Geological Society, 1887. [p. 43-p. 97].

This work is divided into the following sections: Author's Catalogue, Anonymous Publications, Parliamentary Publications, Maps, Charts and Plans, Bibliographical Chronology, and Index To Author's Catalogue and Anonymous Publications. The bibliography was extracted from the Royal Geological Society.

Supplementary papers are in Volume 2, part 1, 1887. M

74. Rundel, Philip W.

An Annotated Bibliography of West Indian Plant Ecology. St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States: Bureau of Libraries and Museums, Department of Conservation and Cultural Affairs, Government of the Virgin Islands, 1974. 70p. Maps. (Bibliography Series I).

This annotated bibliography of West Indian plant ecology includes 751 references. The vast majority of references in the bibliography relate to studies of vegetation or floristics. Papers on forestry or economic plants have been included when they are of ecological interest or relate to floristic studies. Selected references on climate and soils have also been included. Complete coverage has been attempted in the bibliography only for references published since 1900. It includes an index of references by geographical coverage and subject matter. Under an alphabetical index of islands or island groups, papers dealing with each have been categorized into seven subject areas. STPL

75. Sable, Martin H.

Periodicals for Latin American Economic Development, Trade and Finance: An Annotated Bibliography. Los Angeles, California: University of California, Latin American Center, [c. 1965]. 72p.

This is a selected list of English and foreign language periodicals, published mainly in the United States and Latin America, spanning the fields of economic development, trade and finance as these are related to Latin America. All items are annotated and grouped by countries in alphabetical order. A title index, subject index, and geographical index are included at the end. LC

76. Sevillano, Colom, Francisco

List of Microfilmed Materials at The Barbados Public Library. Barbados, West Indies: Mobile Microfilm Unit, Barbados Public Library, 1960. 23p. (Mimeo).

Each entry in this list provides an explanatory note to indicate what the main items included are. An index of the main items is provided to refer the printed microfilm materials. LC

77. Smith, Robert C. and Elizabeth Wilder

A Guide To The Art Of Latin America. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1948. 480p. (Latin American Series #21).

This guide brings together the scattered materials of the arts of Latin America published up to 1942 on this important subject. It includes a section on the literature of Latin American art: a comprehensive section on the bibliography of Latin American art. The bibliography was subdivided first transversely, by periods, instead of by countries. An index is provided at the end of the book for cross reference. MN

78. Suchlicki, Jaime

The Cuban Revolution: A Documentary Bibliography, 1952-

1968. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami, Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean, 1968. 83p.

This is a guide for selected documents (speeches, editorials, manifestos, communiques) on the Cuban revolution for the period 1952-1968. The guide includes short paragraphs explaining the content of each document; a chronology of events, 1952-1968, and subject and author indexes. A large number of entries in this listing consist of Fidel Castro's speeches and proclamations. M

79. Trask, David F., Michael C. Meyer, and Roger R. Trask

A Bibliography of United States-Latin American Relations Since 1810: A Selected List of Eleven Thousand Published References. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press. [c. 1968]. 441p.

This bibliography is arranged into two main sections which are supplemented by several specialized chapters. Chapters III-X provide a chronological survey of United States-Latin American relations from the beginning of the national independence movement in Latin America in 1810 to the present. Chapters XIV-XXIV offer a country-by-country survey. The chapters on each country are periodized according to the perspective of historians from that nation. In addition, Chapter I includes an extensive list of guides and aids; Chapter II covers general studies in the field and surveys the course of the Pan American movement since 1889; and Chapter XII lists works relating to certain Latin American movements. An author index is included at the end. M

80. Trinidad and Tobago. West Indian Reference Section of the Central Library of Trinidad and Tobago.

Trinidad and Tobago and West Indian Bibliography: Annual Accessions. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. (Cumulative issues).

This is arranged in alphabetical order under two main sections, and within each section by adult and juvenile non-fiction and fiction. The sections are: 1) Trinidad and Tobago Accessions, and 2) West Indian Accessions. Periodicals and newspapers are omitted. MN

81. United States Air Force Academy Library.

The United States in the Caribbean. n.p. 1070. 34p. (Special Bibliography Series #44).

This bibliography represents a selected portion of the holdings of the Air Force Academy Library on the subject of "the United States in the Caribbean." It provides a listing of the sources. It is divided into the following categories: Reference Aids, the Caribbean Region and Central America, the Continent, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic and United States Policies. MN

82. United States Department of Housing and Urban Development Library.

Hispanic Americans in The United States: A Selective Bibliography 1913-1974. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1974. 28p.

This book lists books, periodical articles, and bibliographies on Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Caribbean Spanish-speaking peoples. There is also a section of general background materials and an author index. LC

83. United States National Oceanographic Data Center.

Cooperative Investigation of The Caribbean and Adjacent Regions.

Volume One: *Bibliography on Meteorology, Climatology, and Physical/Chemical Oceanography.* Prepared by the American Meteorological Society, Washington, D. C., 1970. 380p.

Volume Two: *Bibliography on Marine Biology.* Prepared by the Franklin Institute Research Laboratories, [Rockville, Maryland], 1972. 243p.

Volume Three: *Bibliography on Marine Geology and Geographies.* Rockville, Maryland: Franklin Institute Research Laboratories, 1972. 238p.

Volume One contains over 3,000 references (2,000 with abstracts) on physical/chemical oceanography, meteorology, and climatology. Volume Two and Three, the biological and geological parts, contain over 14,000 references. MN

84. Valdes, Nelson P. and Edwin Liewen

The Cuban Revolution: A Research-Study Guide (1959-1969). Albuquerque, Mexico: University of Mexico Press. [c. 1971]. 230p.

This work includes bibliographical tools, guide books, documents, reports, dissertations, monographs, books, and periodical and newspaper articles. Approximately 40 percent of the titles are in Spanish, 40 percent in English and the remaining 40 percent in various East and West European languages. Each item includes author, title, place of publication, publisher, date of publication, and number of pages. Brief annotations are added to some of the items. All entries are arranged under subject headings. A complete listing of revolutionary periodicals and newspapers, which are broad sources of information on many aspects of the revolution, can be found under the section called "Research Tools." The general section includes a listing and brief description of the principal United States Libraries holding important collections of materials relating to the Cuban revolution. Also, this section includes the names and addresses of principal international book dealers in the field. MN

85. Vaughn, Robert V.

St. Croix, The Virgin Islands, and The West Indies: The Bibliography of A Private Collection. Christiansted, St. Croix, United States Virgin Islands: 1971. 36p.

This bibliography is made up of four sections in the following order: 1) Authors, 2) Titles, 3) Subject Headings, 4) Geographical Areas. Each section is arranged in alphabetical order. Primary emphasis is on St. Croix, secondary emphasis on the Virgin Islands, and finally the West Indies. It does not purport to be a complete bibliography of printed material on the West Indies, but rather, it is a list of the materials on the West Indies, St. Croix and the Virgin Islands that were once part of a private collection in St. Croix. It includes publications about the West Indies, by West Indians and residents, and fiction of West Indian locale. CVI

86.

The Virgin Islands of The United States: Social, Economic, and Political Conditions Referred To in Recent Periodical Literature (With Primary Emphasis on V. I. Newspapers for 1973 and Minor Reference Books to 1966). St. Croix, U. S. Virgin Islands: Aye-Aye Press, 1974. 166p. (Appendix).

This bibliography contains information pertaining to Virgin Islands social, economic, and political conditions found in recent periodical literature, mainly from the local publications. This guide is divided into two main sections: 1) a listing by subject headings, and 2) a listing of persons and organizations or authors of articles. The listing by subject headings is sub-arranged by date. The listing of persons named in the article, headline, or the author of the article, is arranged alphabetically by the name of the person and then listed by date. Because of their significance, the Brau Haus and the Fountain Valley murders are listed as separate subject headings. CVI

87. Virgin Islands College.

Annotated Bibliography of Documents Relating to City and Regional Planning in The United States Virgin Islands. St. Thomas, U. S. Virgin Islands: College of the Virgin Islands, 1968. 36p. (Mimeo).

This bibliography provides some background for a course described as a "survey course in the general field of city and regional planning in the Virgin Islands." This work is divided into the following subject areas: Administration, Community Facilities, Conservation, Future Land Use, House and Urban Renewal, Implementation, Physical Characteristics, Social-Economic Characteristics, Transportation and Utilities. STPL

88. Virgin Islands of the United States. Bureau of Libraries and Museums, Department of Social and Cultural Affairs.

Microfilm Catalogue 1970. St. Thomas, U. S. Virgin Islands, 1970. 108p.

This work is a listing of microfilm materials available in the Von Scholten Collection of the St. Thomas Public Library. It includes the holdings of the Library of the College of the Virgin Islands. Part I is an alphabetical listing and Part II is a classified listing by subject headings. Part III is an alphabetical listing of the College of the Virgin Islands holdings. This work also includes a personal name index, a subject index, and an addendum arranged by category. CVI

89. Virgin Islands of the United States. Government Printing Office.

A Bibliography of The Virgin Islands of The United States. St. Thomas, U. S. Virgin Islands: Government Printing Office, 1922. 11p. (Formerly Danish West Indies).

This is a list of sources pertaining to the United States Virgin Islands. All entries contained in this list are arranged by subject areas: General Works, Historical, Church History, Slave Trade, Sale Question, Economic, Geological, Botanical, Fiction, Statistical, and Virgin Islands Catalogs and Indexes. STPL

90. Vivo, Paquita

The Puerto Ricans: An Annotated Bibliography. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1973. 299p.

This annotated bibliography includes all works written about Puerto Ricans. The entries have been divided into four parts. Part I includes books, pamphlets and dissertations, divided thematically into 21 major subjects. Part II lists government publications. Part III lists selected periodicals, and Part IV lists motion pictures and filmstrips. MN

91. Walne, Peter

A Guide to Manuscript Sources for The History of Latin America and The Caribbean in The British Isles. London, England: Oxford University Press, 1973. 580p.

The general arrangement of the entries is in alphabetical order of English countries, with Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland, following on. This guide is the British volume in the series of *Guides to the Sources for the History of Latin America.* It is a guide to the archival and manuscript sources for the history of Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Philippine Islands preserved in the British Isles. Within each section by geographical area, entries are arranged in alphabetical order of the location of owners or of the repositories in whose custody are the papers. One major exception to this rule is the section on business records, covering material throughout the British Isles. This is placed at the end of the book. An index is included for aiding in any search for the sources. M

92. Watson, Gayle Hudgens

Columbia, Ecuador, and Venezuela: An Annotated Guide to Reference Materials in The Humanities and Social Sciences. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1971. 279p.

This volume intends to include all reference books, including government documents, concerning Columbia, Ecuador, and Venezuela from the beginning of printing in New Granada to modern day publications in the social sciences and the humanities fields. All of the entries in this book are arranged by subjects. It is supplemented by a main entry index, which serves as a guide to the listing of books and articles. M

93. Watson, Karl C.

Literature of The English and French Speaking West Indies in The University of Florida Libraries: A Bibliography. Gainesville, Florida: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, 1971. 26p.

This is a list of sources, materials of English and French speaking West Indies, arranged in alphabetical order by countries. It is divided into two sections: 1) English-speaking West Indies, and 2) French-speaking West Indies. An author index is included at the end. MN

94. Waxman, Samuel Montefiore

A Bibliography of The Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931. 31p.

This work lists all discoverable printed works having to do with the literature, as well as the fine arts and music of Santo Domingo. The bibliography is organized in alphabetical order by authors. STPL

95. Wilgus, A. Curtis

Latin America in The Nineteenth Century: A Selected Bibliography of Books of Travel and Description Published in English. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1973. 174p.

This list contains books of travel and description relating to the Latin America of the nineteenth century. All items are numbered consecutively and are listed alphabetically by the family name. The book has a geographical index. In addition, there is a graph showing the relative number of books about Latin America published in the United States 1840-1940, and a selected list of references containing information about the nineteenth century books and authors. LC

96. Williams, Rosalie I.

Jamaican National Bibliography, 1964-1970. Cumulation. Kingston, Jamaica: West Indies Reference Library, Institute of Jamaica, 1973. 322p.

This work is the first cumulation of the bibliography, and covers accessions for the ten year period 1960-1970. This bibliography consists of the following sections: Books, Pamphlets, Microfilms, Manuscripts, Maps, Newspapers, Periodicals, a Periodical Index, and General Index. Within each section of books, pamphlets, and microfilms, all entries are grouped by subjects. M

97. Wilson, Charles Morrow

Books About Middle America: A Selected Bibliography. New York: The Middle America Information Bureau, conducted by the United Fruit Company, 1945. 23p. (Revised edition).

This list includes only standard publications in English. It is divided into sections by the following countries: Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. There is no index available. LC

98. Winsor, Justin

Spanish North America. Boston and New York, 1884-89.

Volume 8 (1889) p[191]-294. Illustrated. (In his narrative and critical history).

This work includes a critical essay on the sources of information and bibliographical notes on the West Indies and the Spanish Main. MN

99. Work, Monroe N.

A Bibliography of The Negro in Africa and America. New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 165. 698p. (First published in 1928).

This bibliography refers primarily to sources of information relating to all phases of the daily life of the Negro. There are several sections containing reference sources and dealing with the Negro in the West Indies and South America. From page 655 to page 660 is a bibliography of bibliographies on the West Indies, and Latin America is included. STPL

100. Zimmerman, Irene

Current National Bibliographies of Latin America: A State of The Art Study. Gainesville, Florida: Center for Latin American Studies, 1971. 139p. (Bibliography).

This book provides the state of the art study of the current national bibliographies of Latin America. It includes indications that the status of the major published sources of information about the recent publication of materials in various Latin American countries. This involves not only a history of annotated sources in each country concerned, but also a description of the major characteristics of each individual situation. This work contains a rather comprehensive chapter on the inclusive Caribbean area, which includes a section on the English-speaking Caribbean. CVI

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PERCEPTIONS OF WHITE FACULTY AND STUDENTS ON HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

Claire Orson and William Osborne
Florida Memorial College

THE PROBLEM

For many years now, Black faculty and students have been researched on White campuses in order to see if various problems could be alleviated. Therefore, the problem was to research White faculty and students on historically Black campuses in order to see if social, academic and recruitment problems could be alleviated.

HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

The term "Black college" is somewhat of a misnomer. Historically, most academic centers which have purported to fall into that category have in fact shared something distinctively non-black, namely the pervasiveness of White influence. Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina is one of many possible examples. When that institution was founded, two years after the Civil War, most white Charlotteans resented its presence. However, the school was developed under the leadership of a White Presbyterian minister who became its first president. With the assurance of a "Black" institution easily directed by White authorities, community resentment diminished.[1] Johnson C. Smith University, like other historically Black colleges and universities, provided no essential threat to White power structures as Whites were either directly or indirectly decision-makers in regard to the present and future course of the institution. The few exceptions to the above case include relatively recent experiments in Black education by such organizations as the Nation of Islam in Chicago. There, an attempt has been made to create university-level education not dependent on White influence. It can be reasonably argued, however, that even that attempt is an "allowed" one: the Nation of Islam would find it unusually difficult to promulgate its educational separatism if national White elites felt it necessary to eradicate its structures.

Even analysts who represent Black consciousness ideologies largely agree about the inevitablility of continued White influence in Black educational centers. A contemporary volume, *The Black College: A Strategy For Relevancy,* argues at length about the meaning of Black-White interdependency in the Black college context. The authors claim that "interdependency" must mean the replacing of "Black dependency on the good will of the White liberal with Black self-determination."[2] And yet, the same authors state further that while Black independence from White domination and control is the goal, this must be seen as being accomplished only "to the degree that any group can be independent of another in pluralistic society."[3]

None of the above implies that Black colleges and universities do not have special roles to fulfill and functions to effect in relation to the Black community. What is implied, instead, is that these roles and functions are fulfilled presently and have been historically by Blacks who are and have been the recipients of continuing White influence. Further, as Whites have participated in Black educational centers as trustees, professors and staff and, less frequently as students, White influence has often been dominant. When the authors of *The Black College: A Strategy For Relevancy* claim that Black colleges are "still largely controlled immediately by Black Americans,"[4] they are interpreting history rather optimistically. What is more correct is to say that Black colleges in the United States attempt to especially serve students from the Black community, and in doing so, Whites who often are involved in the "serving" present possible problems to such institutions. This of course is one of the reasons for the present study. It attempts to investigate perceptions on four historically-Black college and university campuses in Florida as one method of determining how "problematic" White influence and presences are considered to be.

One of the major focuses of the present researchers has been Florida A&M University. Its early history evidences the difficulties Black educators had with White decision-makers. The first president of State Normal College for Colored Students, the institution later renamed Florida A&M, was Thomas DeSaile Tucker, an attorney.[5] A graduate of Oberlin College with an interest in liberal arts education, he immediately came into conflict with southern Whites as to the purpose of educating Blacks. Tucker's posture was that such a school had a multi-educational task, namely to offer Blacks a variety of academic experiences. He did not reject traditional ideas concerning agricultural and industrial education but saw them as complementary to other options. Therefore, he insisted on the provision of courses in areas which would allow Blacks to prepare for teaching in public school systems. The result of his stance was an eight point indictment of him by the White superintendent of schools to which he was held responsible plus opposition to his reappointment as President.[6] What is most revealing in that early case is its possible analogy to the contemporary Florida A&M University relationship with White "supervisors." As the White-dominated State of Florida Board of Regents debates the viability of A&M as a predominantly-Black university today, we see a rather consistent dominance evidenced which encourages the researchers to ask again, how problematic White influence is in Black academic institutions.

The volume, *Black Manifesto For Education*, published in 1973, states with some eloquence the seriousness of White direction over Black colleges in their earliest years. The author of the chapter on "A Black Perspective Of Higher Education" claims the very special purpose for establishing predominantly Black institutions was to "educate" slaves and subjects of a colonial empire to take their "places" in a White world.[7] This means that such institutions had a purpose which differed considerably from that of predominantly-White colleges which stressed the gaining of tools for rational and independent thinking, among others. The slave was to be neither rational (if this led him away from his condition of servitude) nor independent of a larger system which depended on his contribution as a slave for its own aggrandizement. Author Joseph Harris further explains that such a history does not indicate the uselessness of the Black college; it simply indicates the necessity of reformulating and redefining its role. For this author, the major emphasis needed in contemporary American Black education are at odds with original purposes. These include emphasis far beyond traditional encouragements toward good teaching and doing research. In short, "functioning within a community which has been deprived of its full maturation, black institutions of higher education must help their students, and through them, all black men, regain their manhood."[8] Obviously, the original intention of White founders and/or controllers of Black colleges was hardly the regaining of manhood as envisaged by Mr. Harris.

The history of White influence on Black educational institutions is not limited to poorer or less advantaged schools: colleges and universities often identified as "prestigious" within the Black community frequently encountered difficulties when White trustees and presidents insisted on certain courses of action. Howard University is a case in point. When General Howard offered his resignation as President of the University, in 1874, a debate ensued as to who his successor would be. The discussion had serious racial overtones and indicated a lack of sensitivity by White trustees for the feelings of Black faculty, students and community leaders.[9] The fullest delineation of the crisis is found in Professor Walter Dyson's volume, *Howard University: A History, 1867-1940*. Vice-president Langston was "the choice of all the Negroes on the Board, and of the students, and of the Negroes in general in the United States. Nevertheless, George Whipple, a secretary of the American Missionary Association was elected."[10] The Board which made the determination included the following present: four Black members and eleven White members. It was stated by one of the Black trustees that "Whipple's election 'was done in the face of the earnestly expressed desire of the colored members of the Board that the position should be given to a colored man.' "[11] Langston wrote in his autobiography: "It is due to all concerned that it be stated the every colored trustee voted for Langston, while every White one voted for Mr. Whipple."[12] At a later point, the defeated Langston claimed that the "White trustees of the University believed that the colored students were incapable of pursuing professional studies and that the interest of the white Trustees in the Medical, Law and Theological Departments had lessened."[13] Eventually, Whipple declined the Presidency of Howard, partly because the press had begun to print certain articles asking whether or not the American Missionary Association was seeking complete control of the University. In any case, the dominance of White trustees continued to assure control of the academic center long after the particular incident related, a dominance that again raised the question of who determines the nature and purpose of so-called "Black Universities."

The four colleges in Florida studied by the present researchers include along with Florida A&M, already described, Florida Memorial College, Bethune-Cookman College and Edward Waters College. Unlike A&M, each is relatively small in student enrollment and officially "private" rather than state-supported. To this point, no authors have written extensively about the influence of the White community on any of them, but certain implications are apparent from their histories. Edward Waters College was originally founded as Brown Theological Institute under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The major impetus behind such an institution was to provide Black students interested in the Christian ministry with adequate educational tools.[14] The name of the school was changed in 1891 to Edward Waters and in 1901, after a fire destroyed a large part of Jacksonville including the college, new sites for its location were sought. The present locale on Kings Road in Jacksonville was purchased in 1904 with one building named after Bishop B. F. Salter erected. Although Edward Waters College's history does not differ markedly from that of many other small, private, poorly-endowed Black instiutions, its origins had one aspect which has favored Black control. Rather than being founded by "mainline" Protestant churches during the middle of the nineteenth century as were many Black colleges, it was established by the Black African Methodist Episcopal Church. According to Joseph Harris in *Black Manifesto For Education*, this group's initiation of its own instituitions was a "notable exception" to the general rule of early control by White churches and later the Freedman's Bureau.[15] In spite of this aspect, however, and possibly partly because of it, the college suffered long periods of progress and reverses. Financial support was minimal, enrollment was low, and the college struggled to survive. As J. Irving Scott notes, "many different men have served as president. Needless to say, so many changes in administrative leaders did not aid in developing any long-range program of development."[16] Thus, the college was in a dilemma. In its relative removal from White influence, it partially succeeded in avoiding the direct control suffered by others; but, this removal meant a dearth of financial support necessary to establish varieties of educational experiences offered by institutions such as Florida A&M or Howard University.

Florida Memorial College was founded as Florida Baptist Academy at Bethel Baptist Institutional Church in Jacksonville, Florida in 1892. Twenty years later, it was moved to St. Augustine with the name changed to Florida Normal and Industrial Institute. "In the meantime, the name of the Live Oak institution, another Baptist institution which was named Florida Baptist Institute, was changed to Florida Memorial College."[17] By 1941, both institutions had merged and later, in 1963, the charter was changed so that the name was again Florida Memorial College. Although Black Baptist related, and therefore ideologically and organizationally autonomous from White church organizations, its actual history has involved a curious interplay between the influences of Black and White Baptist conventions. Both have at various periods offered support and, concomitantly, attempted control. This interreaction continues partly because of the difficult financial circumstances the college has endured during certain historical periods, including the present. Florida Memorial College in 1976 shares with other Black institutions the experience of White influence through White members' prominence on its Board of Trustees, the inclusion of White teachers on its faculty but as is usually true, a very small proportion of White persons in its student body. Furthermore, the College in its intimate negotiations with H.E.W. and other governmental bodies is responsible to largely non-Black oriented directives, some of which might be characterized as analogous to those of the old Freedman's Bureau noted previously.

The fourth college in Florida considered by the present authors is Bethune-Cookman College. This institution resulted from the merger of two Florida schools—Cookman Institute of Jacksonville and a Daytona Beach center called the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Girls.[18] As Florida Memorial was Baptist related and Edward Waters an A.M.E. school, Bethune-Cookman College has been associated with the Methodist Church. Even more than in the case of Florida Memorial, this has meant continuing and intimate relations with church institutions controlled by the White community. Of these three small, predominantly-Black colleges, Bethune-Cookman is the most secure financially, enjoys the largest student enrollment, and as far back as 1947 could boast of grounds "consisting of 160 acres of land, of which 32 acres, valued at over two million dollars, constitute the main campus."[19] What we interpret in the Bethune-Cookman situation, then, is a college historically most directly under the control of a White religious body and, at the same time, a college which appears to enjoy more future viability than either Edward Waters or Florida Memorial. Bethune-Cookman College again evidences the paradox of relations with the White community: the more direct the control in the past by that community, the more likelihood of the survival of the institution. The character of this "survival," however, has been noted to include meeting White expectations which may be in contradiction to Black wishes.

So far, the influence of Whites on Black educational institutions has been documented at the points of the origins of Black colleges, the appointment of presidents and other administrators, the continuing involvement of Whites as members of boards of trustees, and the demands of largely-white governmental officials and agencies on historically-Black academic centers. What has not been documented is the presence of large numbers of Whites on faculties which teach Black students at the college level. Traditional American history books give evidence of this inclusion as they rather paternalistically portray the White teacher committed to instructing Blacks immediately following the Civil War period when many of the institutions were founded, and contemporary literature reviewed in this paper indicates participation currently by Whites as professional personnel in Black colleges. What is often not realized is that this phenomenon of the White instructor has continued with little interruption since the beginning of Black higher education in this country. While many years might arbitrarily be picked to establish this point, the period of World War One, falling between the 1870's and the present, offers one indication of White instructional influence.

At Howard University in 1916, there were 106 teachers and workers listed; of these, thirty-three were White. At Atlanta University in 1914, there were thirty-three teachers and workers and 29 were White; only four were "colored."[20] Clark University in the same year employed seventeen teachers and workers and five were White.

Morehouse College had nineteen teachers and workers, two of whom were White. Fisk University totaled forty-five teachers and workers, only fourteen were Black; thirty-one were White. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (whose name was later changed) employed 210 workers and teachers, 147 of whom were White, 63 were Black. Admittedly, not all Black colleges and universities included large proportions of White teachers during the era of the first world war. The Florida scene evidences a distinction: Edward Waters College in 1914 and 1915 had only sixteen teachers and all were listed as "colored."[21] Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes had thirty-four teachers all, again, being Black.

The above documentation, taken during the "between years" after Black institutions were well established but before the contemporary period, indicates at least two things important to this study: first, the phenomenon of White instructors is neither just old or new but occurs throughout many Black colleges' histories; and, second, those institutions often considered the most prestigious have particularly experienced White instructional inclusion during their histories. In assessing such data, a researcher could argue of course that Black instructors for the college level were not so available as Whites, and that White teaching influences were a necessity at the time. One could further claim that Blacks with comparable qualifications of White instructors would have been educated in White-influenced institutions, and the inclusion of more Blacks would not have solved the implicit "problem." Neither of such arguments, however, disputes the basic interpretation given this data by the present researchers, namely that White teachers in Black colleges have historically been one more vehicle of White influence, and that there is some continuity to this phenomenon throughout the history of many Black colleges.

In summary, the authors of this paper return to their premise stated at the beginning of this section on the "History of the Problem," namely that the term "Black college" is somewhat misleading. What the various institutions listed under such nomenclature have in common of course is a history of predominantly-Black student enrollments and a pervasiveness of White influence. This White influence has been evidenced in White participation as trustees, administrators, teachers, governmental and church leaders, establishers and originators of many such institutions, and has been shown to be a continuing factor to which Black colleges and universities have had to relate. It has also been shown that contemporary Black analysts, concerned about the uniquenesses of higher-level Black educational institutions, have encouraged a new era in which dependence on the White liberal might be replaced by Black self-determination. As has been noted previously, the likelihood of serious "self-determination" in a pluralistic society such as the United States, and particularly in a society in which the power elites are White, is remote. However, even though the eradication of direct and indirect influence by Whites on Black institutions appears impossible, it may be viable to suggest modifications in this relationship which would be beneficial to Blacks. The perceptual data collected for other areas of this paper hopefully will contribute toward that goal.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A major reason for the present study is the lack of appropriate contemporary literature in the field. The researchers of this project have investigated not only books and articles purporting to relate directly to their subject but other works peripheral to their area of concern and have reached an inescapable conclusion:

very few academicians have chosen to author works which discuss recent perceptions of White faculty and students on predominately Black college and university campuses. The absence of such studies is particularly interesting to the present researchers vis-a-vis the documented history of the problem delineated elsewhere in this paper.

In reviewing the literature appropriate to the subject, the researchers had to make certain decisions establishing parameters. A limitation of the past seven years was constructed mostly because the focus of the study is on contemporary perceptions. The seven-year parameter is not wholly arbitrary: each decade has seen the revision of relationships between Blacks and Whites on campuses and otherwise, and there are sufficient studies to establish that the end of the 1960s marks a new era in such relations. Further, to incorporate into the present study all of the articles written throughout the decade of the 1960s or even before would be to include an unwieldly number of attitudinal variables not wholly related to the contemporary situation. Therefore, the search for viable literary works on the subject was largely limited to the period between 1969 and 1976.

Six major categories of literature were constructed for the review. The first concerned perceptual problems encountered by Black students on predominately White college and university campuses. The second related to pre-college White teachers in predominately Black institutions, such as metropolitan high schools. Neither of the above wholly related to the problems presented by the present study; however, interestingly enough, these first two categories were the areas in which the most extensive literature was found. For example, in regard to category number one, informative journal articles were located such as the following:

a) "Black Students on White Campus," *Journal Of Negro Education*, Vol. 42:462-6, Fall '73;
b) "Black Students and White Graduate Schools," *Integrated Education*, O'Hear, M. F., Vol. 27, 49-64, J. '73;
c) "Black Coeds on a White Campus," William Lyons, J. E., *Integrated Education*, Vol. 10, 61-4, S '72;
d) "Black Student/White University," Vol. 51, 463-9, M. '73, *Personnel And Guidance Journal*;
e) "Adjustments of Black Students to Predominantly

White Campuses," Vol. 42:462-6, *J. Negro Education*, Fall '73;

f) "Can White Educators Meet the Needs of Black Students?," 87:16, *Nation Sch.*, April '71.

The above six listings are only six of the more than twenty-five offerings in category one reviewed by the researchers and written during the past seven years. While none of these are related to the major focus of the present study, it is possible to note here certain important themes or motifs which are present in several of them, namely the question of academic difficulties experienced by some Blacks in predominantly White contexts; the problem of social adaptation by Blacks in White colleges and universities; the attempts by certain White academic centers to establish courses relevant to Black history and culture; and, attitudes of Black students attending predominantly White institutions. Obviously, the category of Black students' perceptions of their experiences on White campuses has been much more thoroughly researched than those categories with which the present study is particularly concerned.

The second category of literature reviewed, pre-college White teachers in predominantly Black educational institutions, also deviates from the specific focus of this paper. Most of the category two literature is concerned with high school or lower grade contexts in which White teachers are teaching mostly Black students because of school, neighborhood and other segregation patterns. While the literature in this category is not voluminous, it proves to be much more extensive than comparable studies at the college and university levels. Emphasis in such articles include the problems of Whites teaching Black-oriented history and culture, grading considerations when Whites instruct Black students, class conflicts between White middle-class teachers and Black children and teenagers from so-called "ghetto" areas, plus the perceptions of Black and White instructors toward one another in newly-integrated faculties. Among the literature reviewed by the present researchers were the following:

a) "White Staff, Black Children: Is There A Problem?," C. E. Burns, *Child Welfare*, Vol. 50, 90-96, F. '71;

b) "Black-White Joking Relationships Among Newly Integrated Faculty," J. H. Petersen, *Integ. Edu.* 13:33-7, Ja '75;

c) "Can White Educators Meet the Needs of Black Students?," A. Cohodes, *Nation Sch.* 87:16, Ap. '71;

d) "Students Learn Reactions to a White Man Teaching Black History," *The Social Studies*, Richard Kane, Dec. '70, Vol. LXI, No. 7;

e) "Does Teacher's Skin Color Matter?," I. D. Glick, *Integ. Edu.* 9:26-30, S. '71;

f) "Ability of White Teachers to Relate to Black Students and to White Students," R. W. Heath, *Am. Ed. Res. J.*, 8:1-10, Ja '71.

From the literature consulted, it can be stated that considerable concern has been evidenced regarding the perceptions of White teachers at levels below the collegiate and university ones, and that educators have analyzed with some thoroughness and interactions of particularly public school White teachers with Black students.

The last four categories of literature reviewed presented a major problem to the researchers: on the one hand, locating articles and books written within the past seven years on these subjects was nearly impossible. On the basis of the results of the search which included consultations at several library centers, the researchers conclude that there is a dearth of literature in these categories. Categories numbered three through six are as follows:

3) Self-perceptions of White students on Black campuses;
4) Self-perceptions of White faculty on Black campuses;
5) Perceptions by Black students and faculty of White students on Black campuses, and
6) Perceptions by Black students and faculty of White faculty on Black campuses.

In regard to the third category, self-perceptions of White students on Black campuses, literature tended to only tangentially address the researchers' questions. Among such articles were "White Students in Five Predominantly Black Universities" by C. I. Brown and P. R. Stein (*Negro Educ. R.* 23:148:69) and an article entitled "Integration-In-Reverse: Going from Black to Black and White" by A. H. Calloway (*Col. & Univ. Bus.* 53:59-61, F. '72). The latter writing concerns itself particularly with West Virginia State College's so-called "reverse integration" in which a previously all-Black university became predominantly White in student enrollment. The article reviews the responses by Blacks and Whites alike to this event, claiming an optimal level of cooperation between the races and stating that open communication had been achieved without specially structured programs to promote racial harmony. Much more to the point of the third category, however, is an article entitled "White Among Blacks" by J. Le. Francois in *Integ. Educa.* (10:48-52, Ja '72). Essentially, this is the interpretation of a White student, whose husband worked at Shaw University in North Carolina as a technician, and who attended Shaw largely because tuition there was free for her. The article chronicles the student's initial feelings of isolation among Black students but her increasing realization as well, that actual conflicts were isolated and infrequent. Eventually, the student developed close relations with some Black students, but she never viewed herself as totally a part of Shaw's campus life. A fair conclusion to the article might be that her self-perception continued a sense of "difference" even as she increasingly adjusted to a predominantly-Black campus milieu.

The fourth category reviewed, self-perceptions of White faculty on Black campuses, again, provided extremely limited sources. Much of the literature revolved about public high school and grade school problems with some notice taken of the college level. An example would be the article "A New Professionalism: Staff Integration Within Black Schools" by C. H. King (*Educ. Lead.* 29:511:14, Mr '72), which deals mostly with the problem of textbooks used by Black students and White professional/teacher responses to these. The claim here is that texts, even when content includes Black persons and events, largely threaten Black identity. A further article with implications for self-perceptions of White faculty but, again, relating mostly to public high school situations is "Can White Educators Meet the Needs of Black Students?" by A. Cohodes (*Nation. Sch.* 87:16, Ap '71). The argument of the author is that skin color of a teacher is not as important as his/her competence and yet, Black students cannot cope with the White authority teachers may unconsciously express.

The most significant literature found on self-perceptions of White faculty on Black campuses is the article "On Being A White Professor in a Black College" by A. E. Jabs in *Negro Educ. R.* (24:138-45, J1 '73). The author's statements are very much oriented out of a religious, particularly a Lutheran, point of view as he details his experiences in Charleston, South Carolina, recalling especially the fear syndrome which such a state lives out as

Black vs. White. He stresses the need of the White professor in such a context to continuously remember the state's history from a Black perspective and emphasizes his own perceptions of southern education as fragmented and yet somewhat likeable in its personal ambivalence. The implication throughout is that the White college professor in a Black context must aggressively seek to understand the educational experience from minority perceptions and points of view that, unless this is accomplished, one's relevance to the minority as a teacher is limited.

The last two categories of literature reviewed by the present researchers and extremely important to their own investigations were 5) perceptions by Black students and faculty of White students on Black campuses and 6) perceptions by Black students and faculty of White faculty on Black campuses. If there were a dearth of literature in previous categories, this was even more the case for these last two. This was particularly so in regard to perceptions of White students by Black faculty and students. Peripheral literature was found such as "Blacks Supervising Whites: A Study of Inter-racial Difficulties in Working Together in A Simulated Organization" (J. A. Richards and C. C. Jaffee, *J. App. Psychology* 56:234-40, Je '72). This document did not meet the requirements of the present study for two reasons: first, the context was a controlled situation, a simulated organization, and thus not historically significant in the ways in which the researchers had hoped, and second the study was concerned with perceptions of White supervisors in particular. However, two other articles were more relevant, namely, "Students React to a White Man Teaching Black History" (R. D. Kane, *Social Studies* 61:318-23, D. '70) and "Can White Liberals teach Black English in Negro Colleges in the South?," by Robert H. Swinnon (*College Composition And Communication*, Vol. 20, 330-B, D. '69).

The Kane article discusses the reactions of Black students to White professors at a predominantly Black urban eastern state college with several interesting perceptions noted. For instance, Black students objected to assigned White professors teaching courses such as Black history, questioning their qualifications. Further, White professors were occasionally asked to absent themselves from certain ceremonies which related directly to Black commitments such as a memorial service for the late Martin Luther King, Jr. There appeared to be some consensus among Black students as to the limitations of being a White professor in a predominantly Black classroom situation.

The Swinnon article raises some different but related problems. White teachers identified as "liberals" were interpreted by the author as searching for a positive commitment to society and, in the process, becoming dispensers of Black culture. Such "liberals" often came out of involvement in and experience with civil rights and other movements of the 1960s and were later hired by predominantly Black colleges and universities. The result of the latter involvements was a perception by both Black and White colleagues of certain White teachers as "do-gooders." The stigma resulted further in a lack of social mixing between such White professors and others on predominantly-Black faculties. Black students experienced feelings of estrangement from liberal White teachers, stating that they felt considerably more comfortable learning English, for example, from fellow Blacks, and White teachers were criticized by Black students for their lack of knowledge of Black idiom. The article by Swinnon raises most directly the questions involved in the research by the authors of this paper, namely the viability of White faculty and students on Black campuses, the perceptions felt and expressed, the specific difficulties noted both by students and faculty of Whites participating in Black academic centers.

The present researchers have learned from their review of the literature certain facts which, they feel, make their own study of increasing value. First, much of the writing on perceptions of White students and faculties in predominantly-Black educational centers predates the seven-year parameters established by these authors. Second, most of the investigations and interpretations during the last seven years relate to educational levels below the college and university levels. Third, perceptions of White students and faculty on Black campuses are usually only tangentially addressed in current literature with considerably more emphasis placed on perceptions of and about Blacks in predominantly-White situations. Fourth, the absence of an extensive literature in the field as described must raise certain questions such as whether academicians are relatively unconcerned with the implications of White roles and statuses on Black campuses or, even more intriguing, whether contemporary American academicians are generally unconcerned with the quality and future of the historically-Black college or university. Whatever the appropriate answers to these questions may be, the review of the literature has established for the present authors the significance of their own research in the field.

DESIGN AND PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

Locale: The study was conducted in the four historically Black colleges located in Miami, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville and Tallahassee, Florida.

Selection of the Sample: The sample for this study was selected by modified proportional random sampling reflecting the general makeup of the students and faculty. Approximately 10% of the populations were used with a minimum of ten for those taking the Semantic Differential instrument. (This was based on four times the variables and there were ten concepts.)

When a given role group was small, such as White students, all members were given the instrument in order to make the data representative for identifying the important factors by factor analyses. All other samples were chosen randomly by a table of random numbers. The four historically Black colleges in Florida were selected as they were accessible.

The Procedure: Research assistants from each of the four colleges were chosen, three through the mail. Our study was explained to them via telephone, asking someone from the colleges to identify a student or aid who would be paid to actually administer the instruments, and to send us the number of Black and White students and faculty on respective campuses. All persons contacted were most agreeable, committed themselves and a student to our project, and immediately sent us the requested figures.

The next step was to choose an instrument and to sample from the population figures the contact people mailed to us. The instruments chosen were **The Semantic Differential** for the Black students and Black faculty in order for them to identify their perceptions of the White students and the White faculty. The instrument chosen for the White faculty and the White students to give their perceptions of themselves was the **Tennessee Self-Concept Scale.** (See section following for explanation of instruments.) We decided to sample by modified proportional random sampling.

One of the authors then traveled to the three Black colleges outside of Miami in order to bring the instruments and answer sheets and to explain the mechanics to the Research Assistants. At the same time, the procedure was being followed by the Research Assistant at FMC. After several weeks, the data was sent to the authors in Miami and analyzed with the help of a consultant (See Design and Statistical Treatment of Data).

The Instruments: The instruments used in this study were Osgood's **Semantic Differential Technique** and **The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale.**

A. **semantic differential.** The concepts and scales on the semantic differential were carefully selected for exploring the evaluative factor for perceptions of races. The concepts selected were **White Faculty, Black Faculty, White Social Personality, Black Social Personality, White Skin, Black Skin, White Students, Black Students, White Teaching Strategies and Black Teaching Strategies.**

Three factors have been found repeatedly using Osgood's semantic differential technique—Evaluation, Potency and Activity. Researchers have reported that attitudes reveal the heaviest loading on the evaluative sector with minimum loadings on the Activity and the Potency factors. The scales chosen in this study had high loadings on the evaluative factor across the general concept and negligible loadings on the other factors. Direction of attitudes is indicated by the selection of the polar terms by the subject and intensity is indexed by how far along from the dimension of origin the selection lies.[22]

The scales were constructed by using the evaluative adjectives chosen from Osgood's Analyses II (Rotated Dimension Coordinates) and the ones used in one of the authors' former doctoral dissertation. The adjectives were representative of attitudes selected from adjective pairs formerly used in semantic differential data and also formerly used for an attitude scale.[23] Adjectives had previously been submitted to Guttman scale analyses, producing a scale with high reproductibility and scalibility. The bipolar adjectives selected were: 1) good-bad; 2) ugly-beautiful; 3) sociable-unsociable; 4) clean-dirty; 5) positive-negative; 6) pleasant-unpleasant; 7) sad-happy; 8) false-true; 9) honest-dishonest; and 10) sick-healthy.

The order of the bipolar adjectives was arranged so that five began with the favorable dimension and five began with the unfavorable dimension in order to avoid the possibility of position response set answers. There was no set order for determining which adjectives appeared at the favorable end. Briefly, the **Semantic Differential Technique** is shown to be reliable for many research purposes and it has shown to be valid by showing correlations of other scales. For further information on the reliability and validity see the unpublished doctoral dissertation, Orson, Claire, (August, 1971) *Effects on Self-Concept and Racial Preju-*

dice of a Structured Intervention Program with Desegregated Fifth Grade Children.

B. The Tennessee Self-Concept scale: The TSCS is a Likert-Type Scale developed by W. Fitts and is the most popular of the self-concept descriptive forms. A person's functioning in his environment is determined by his TSCS score.[24]

There are twenty-six sub-scales, not all of them are too important. The Total P score is the total self-esteem and this was used in our study along with some other sub-scales. The TSCS data matrix contains the following self-concept measures or scores: what he is, how he accepts himself, how he acts, physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self, social self, self-criticism and the total positive P.

Design and Statistical Treatment of Data:

1. The samples for the study were randomly selected from a roster of each of the colleges.
2. Instruments were administered to samples and IBM answer sheets were sent to the researchers.
3. Data were transformed to cards from the IBM sheets.
4. Programs were written to transform the raw data to data matrices.
5. Clydes' (1965) manova were used to analyze the data matrices from the **TSCS and Semantic Differential** data.

FINDINGS

The multivariate analysis of variance of the White teachers and students of the four historically Black colleges on the **Tennessee Self-Concept Scale** yield no significant differences at the .05 level. The Multivariate F's ranged from 1.134 to .001 with exact probabilities ranging from .312 to 1.00 (See Table 1 Page 230). (There is no need to check the Univariate F's if the Multivariate F's are not significant.[25])

The nature of the sample would not allow a college by role factorial design because there were no White students at Edward Waters College and only two White students at Florida Memorial College. Florida A & M and Bethune Cookman had a large number of White students. The student groups from FAMU and Bethune Cookman plus the four teacher groups from the four colleges made up the six groups used in the one-way muitivariate analysis over five TSCS measures. (The means and standard deviations are reported in Table 2, Page 231).

The total P score means from the TSCS range from 269 to 294.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR WHITE TEACHERS AND WHITE STUDENTS FROM FOUR PREDOMINATELY BLACK COLLEGES IN FLORIDA

Colleges	Observations		Variable				Total Positive Score
			Identity	Self-Satisfaction	Behavior	Self-Criticism	
FAMU	9	M	94.222	97.889	90.556	34.333	282.667
		SD	14.438	15.078	14.117	8.185	43.468
Florida Memorial	9	M	98.444	102.333	93.778	37.889	294.556
		SD	5.102	5.523	4.684	5.302	14.909
Edward Waters	8	M	98.625	99.250	94.875	32.125	292.750
		SD	13.437	14.907	13.840	5.987	42.074
Bethune-Cookman	9	M	91.111	92.000	86.222	27.667	269.333
		SD	31.114	31.077	28.817	11.694	90.736
FAMU (students)	10	M	93.100	96.500	88.600	32.200	278.200
		SD	8.950	8.182	9.524	8.230	26.174
Bethune-Cookman (students)	5	M	95.000	95.800	90.600	29.400	281.400
		SD	10.559	9.985	9.711	1.949	30.237

TABLE 2

MULTIVARIATE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE ON GROUP FOR THE TSCS MEASURES

Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	P Less Than	R
1 through 5	1.134	25.000	150.095	.312	.623
2 through 5	.398	16.000	135.615	.981	.354
3 through 5	.084	9.000	113.824	1.000	.129
4 through 5	.017	4.000	83.000	.999	.041
5 through 5	.001	1.000	42.000	1.000	.000

	Univariate F Tests			
Variable	F (5, 44)	Mean Sq	P Less Than	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients
Identity	.284	77.908	.919	5.804
Self-Satisfaction	.379	106.366	.860	—8.898
Behavior	.361	89.882	.872	3.052
Self-Critcism	1.779	110.338	.137	.054
Tot. Positive Score	.328	777.495	.895	.001

The profile sheets developed by Fitt (1965) indicates that these mean scores fall between the second and ninth percentile. One teacher scored above the 70th percentile with a total P of 370 (See Table 3, Page 232).

There are significant interactions. Table 4, Page 233 indicates that there are two multivariate F's with P's less than .05.

The Univariate F test reports univariate F's of 5.159, 7.798, and 2.1936 with exact probabilities of .002, .001 and .035 respectively. Looking at the summary of means table we see (Table 3) that there is a large discrepancy between the way that Black faculty from the four colleges and the Black students from the four colleges perceive the White faculty at the four colleges. The White students and White teachers at Edward Waters and at Florida Memorial are perceived pretty much the same by the Black students and faculty at these colleges. Perhaps one reason is that Edward Waters does not have any White students and Florida Memorial only had two. At Florida A & M the Black faculty perceived the White faculty better than they perceived the Black faculty. The other three colleges show the opposite.

In all four colleges the Black students perceived the Black

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF MEANS FOR ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL BY ROLE

	Criteria				
Role	White Facu	Black Facu	White Soci	Black Soci	White Skin
Faculty	23.385	24.200	27.215	24.185	27.615
Student	28.153	26.359	29.611	26.580	30.221
Schools					
FAMU	25.132	25.472	30.000	24.566	30.340
Edward Waters	28.111	26.556	29.600	27.378	30.156
Bethune-Cookman	27.148	26.590	28.525	26.623	29.639
Florida Memorial	25.811	23.216	26.649	24.216	26.514
School X Role					
FAMU Faculty	19.067	26.133	29.400	22.933	26.533
FAMU Students	27.526	25.211	30.237	25.211	31.842
Edward Waters Faculty	26.933	22.667	28.600	24.600	29.867
Edward Waters Students	28.700	28.500	30.100	28.767	30.300
Bethune-Cookman Faculty	22.368	23.000	25.684	24.053	27.737
Bethune-Cookman Students	29.310	28.214	29.810	27.786	30.500
Florida Memorial Faculty	25.313	25.250	25.688	25.125	26.375
Florida Memorial Students	26.190	21.667	27.381	23.524	26.619

Role	Black Stud	White Teac	Black Teac	Black Skin	White Stud
Faculty	26.308	28.708	24.000	25.662	27.062
Student	27.626	28.565	26.870	26.893	29.084
School					
FAMU	25.434	28.491	24.358	24.755	27.887
Edward Waters	29.156	28.911	27.889	28.756	29.511
Bethune-Cookman	28.361	29.361	27.574	26.967	28.738
Florida Memorial	25.378	27.189	23.027	25.405	27.297
School X Role	Black Stud	White Teac	Black Teac	Black Skin	White Stud
FAMU Faculty	24.200	31.067	21.400	23.867	24.133
FAMU Students	25.921	27.474	25.526	25.105	29.368
Edward Waters Faculty	28.733	28.067	24.533	27.867	30.267
Edward Waters Students	29.367	29.333	29.567	29.200	29.133
Bethune-Cookman Faculty	26.895	28.474	25.737	24.842	26.842
Bethune-Cookman Students	29.024	29.762	28.405	27.929	29.595
Florida Memorial Faculty	25.313	27.375	23.875	26.250	27.063
Florida Memorial Students	25.429	27.048	22.381	24.762	27.476

TABLE 4

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL VARIABLES ON BLACKS PERCEPTIONS OF WHITES IN THEIR SCHOOL

Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	P Less Than	R
1 through 3	2.714	30.000	526.076	.001*	.457
2 through 3	1.963	18.000	359.000	.011*	.362
3 through 3	1.080	8.000	180.00	.379	.214

Univariate F Tests

Variable	F (3, 188)	Mean Sq	P Less Than	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients (1)	(2)
White Facu	5.159	145.221	.002*	.642	.494
Black Facu	7.798	218.999	.001*	—.371	.854
White Soci	.800	25.227	.495	—.484	—.238
Black Soci	2.136	66.618	.097	.001	.252
White Skin	1.666	57.789	.176	.400	.056
Black Skin	.992	37.424	.398	.126	.204
White Stud	2.936	80.326	.035*	.537	—.047
Black Stud	.282	9.325	.838	.073	—.600
White Teac	1.937	58.052	.125	—.696	—.210
Black Teac	2.401	78.691	.069	.122	.159

*P< .05

faculty as being better than the White faculty. At FAMU and Bethune Cookman, the Black faculty perceived the White students better than the Black students perceived the White students. The same held true for Florida Memorial College where as mentioned there only were two White students! Edward Waters was just the opposite, which was interesting. As stated previously, there were no White students there!

Table 5, Page 234 shows the Multivariate tests of significance and the Univariate F tests for the **Semantic Differential.** After reviewing the Multivariate F tests for colleges with a P or less than .05, there was a significant Multivariate F whereby we looked at the Univariate F's and found significances for the variables: **White Faculty, Black Faculty, White Social Personality, Black Social Personality, White Students, Black Students and Black Teachers**. It can be seen that both the Black students and Black

TABLE 5

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL VARIABLES OF BLACK SCHOOLS PERCEPTIONS OF WHITES IN THEIR SCHOOL

Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	P Less Than	R
1 through 3	2.207	30.000	526.076	.001*	.419
2 through 3	1.609	18.000	359.000	.055	.340
3 through 3	.734	8.000	180.000	.661	.178

	Univariate F Tests		
Variable	F (3, 188)	Mean Sq	P Less Than
White Facu	3.057	86.044	.030*
Black Facu	3.699	103.886	.013*
White Soci	2.970	93.647	.033*
Black Soci	3.493	108.935	.017*
White Skin	3.690	127.964	.013*
Black Skin	3.960	149.326	.009*
White Stud	1.429	40.476	.222
Black Stud	5.471	180.772	.001*
White Teac	1.267	37.967	.287
Black Teac	7.936	260.057	.001*

*P< .05

faculty at Florida Memorial College have higher perceptions of the White students and White faculty than at Bethune Cookman and Edward Waters. FMC and FAMU, however, saw **Black Social Personality** better than the **White Social Personality.** All four colleges show Black professors and Black students seeing **Black Skin** better than **White Skin,** but FMC Black professors and students see **White Skin** better than the other three colleges. FMC and FAMU perceived **Black Teachers** better than Edward Waters and Bethune Cookman perceived **Black Teachers.**

The Multivariate tests of significance and Univariate tests for roots of R. are shown in Table 6, Page 235.

The Multivariate F for role was significant. The Multivariate F reported was 5.847 with exact probability of .001. We looked at the Univariate F's and found the variables **White Faculty, Black Faculty, White Social Personality, Black Social Personality, White Students, White Skin and Black Teachers** significant.

TABLE 6

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL VARIABLES OF BLACK STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS PERCEPTIONS OF WHITES IN THEIR SCHOOL

Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	P Less Than	R
1 through 1	5.847	10.000	179.000	.001*	.496

	Univariate F Tests		
Variable	F (1, 188)	Mean Sq	P Less Than
White Facu	35.616	1002.493	.001*
Black Facu	5.866	164.726	.016*
White Soci	6.439	203.026	.012*
Black Soci	7.539	235.119	.007*
White Skin	6.691	232.033	.010*
Black Skin	1.770	66.735	.185
White Stud	6.115	167.324	.014*
Black Stud	2.037	67.314	.155
White Teac	.114	3.409	.736
Black Teac	9.575	313.772	.002*

*$P < .05$

The Black faculty in all four colleges perceived the White faculty more favorably than the Black students perceived the White faculty. The Black faculty at all four colleges, however, perceived all of the above-mentioned variables more favorably than the Black students perceived the variables except for **White Teaching Strategies.** The Black students perceived **White Teaching Strategies** more favorably than **Black Teaching Strategies.**

CONCLUSIONS

Only for similar colleges and locations, it can be concluded from the findings: 1) White faculty and White students on historically Black campuses have a low self-concept as compared to Fitts (1965) norm group.

Perhaps this is a problem which pertains to a fear of lack of acceptance, both professionally and socially. Concern about discussing problems may contribute to the low self-concept of Whites with fears of racial overtones. 2) Most Black faculty at Black colleges perceive Black faculty better than White faculty.

There is no doubt that self-concepts of Blacks have risen in the last decade as shown by the research with dolls, raising levels of consciousness, etc. However, it is clear that the problems on historically Black campuses are now the same as they have been on historically White campuses, only in reverse! 3) Black faculty at Black colleges perceive White faculty better than Black students perceive White faculty. (However, with no White students present, the opposite is true.)

Perhaps this conclusion stems from different generations of Blacks with different values, notedly the Black teachers and the Black students. However, at smaller colleges like FMC and Edward Waters, there was not as much discrepancy between Black teachers and students. Possibly there is more opportunity to work out problems in these situations. It also appears that contact alone does not seem to change perceptions for the better as there was less prejudice from Black students towards White students at Edward Waters who had no White students and at Florida Memorial College who only had two! Thus, it appears that a systemized plan for change is needed. 4) Black faculty at Black colleges perceive Black Social Personality and Black Skin better than White Social Personality and White Skin.

The conclusions from number 2 are relevant here. Also attitudes are formed when people want to gain security or other advantages with her or his own group by maintaining a pattern of discrimination (Carlson, 1956).

5) Black students on Black campuses perceive the White Teaching Strategies better than Black Teaching Strategies.

Perhaps this stems from White professors using more "affect" than "cognition." There has been much research on this theme whereby Black professors maintain the importance of the three "R's" for survival in this world and Whites are more into "feelings," "Magic Circles," and "Values!"

6) There is no discrepancy between the way Black faculty and Black students see White faculty and White students and the way White faculty and White students see themselves.

In conclusion, Black faculty and Black students see White Faculty and White students as pretty low on all variables except Teaching Strategies. And White faculty and White students see themselves the same way on Black campuses. This certainly must be corrected in order to alleviate the academic, social and recruitment problems!

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to help solve academic, social and recruitment problems on historically Black campuses a systemized plan for change is needed, such as:

1) Sensitivity sessions between Black and White faculty should be held in order to raise self-concepts of Whites on Black campuses and establish self-insights of Blacks;
2) Sensitivity sessions between Black and White students should be held in order to raise self-concepts of Whites on Black campuses and establish self-insight of Blacks;
3) Sensitivity sessions between Black students and White faculty should be held;
4) Sensitivity sessions between Black students and both Black and White faculty relating to Teaching Strategies should be held;
5) This study should be done in other parts of the country but with the addition of correlating the two instruments used, and controlling for variables such as age, sex, length of time teaching or attending the respective universities, etc.; and
6) Exchanges of Black and White faculty and students on Black campuses with Black and White Faculty and students on White campuses may help to raise self-concepts of Whites on Black campuses and establish self-insights for Blacks which usually helps to reduce prejudices.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *The Charlotte Observer*, Charlotte, North Carolina, Editorial Page, June, 1976.

[2] *The Black College: A Strategy for Achieving Relevancy*, Tilden J. LeMelle and Wilbert J. LeMelle, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1969, page 12.

[3] *Ibid., 13.*

[4] *Ibid., 13.*

[5] *The Education of Black People in Florida*, J. Irving E. Scott, Dorrance and Company, Philadelphia, 1974, page 58.

[6] *Ibid., Page 58.*

[7] *Black Manifesto for Education*, edited by Jim Haskins, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1973, Page 58.

[8] *Ibid.*, Page 98.

[9] *Howard University: The First Hundred Years*, 1867-1967, Rayford W. Logan, New York University Press, New York, 1969, Page 75 ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, 76.

[11] *Ibid.*, 76

[12] *Ibid.*, 77.

[13] *Ibid.*, 78.

[14] *The Education of Black People in Florida*, 50.

[15] *Black Manifesto for Education*, 100.

[16] *The Education of Black People in Florida*, 51.

[17] *Ibid.*, 53.

[18] *Ibid.*, 55.

[19] *Ibid.*, 55.

[20] *Negro Education*, Volume II. Negro University Press, New York, 1970. 62 ff.

[21] *Ibid.*, 62 ff.

[22] *The Measurement of Meaning*, Osgood, C., Suci G., and Tannenbaum, University of Illinois Press, 1967.

[23] *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Brinton, Je 1961, 26, Pages 289-295.

[24] *The Self-Concept*, Wyles, Ruth, Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1974.

[25] *Multivariate F's*, Harris 1975.

COUNSELOR EFFECT AMONG BLACK AMERICAN COLLEGE FRESHMEN

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To say that the problem of race relations in the United States is complex hardly helps to clarify the situation, but unless the complexity of this matter is seen and taken constantly into account, no single step is likely to be very useful. The problems of American education can never be simple, and it is universal education, with the emphasis on both adjective and noun, that we must now achieve. As the issues of race relations permeate almost every aspect of the American way of life, so events in its schools are interlaced with virtually everything the school does or hopes to do.

The difficulties of operating schools which can cope successfully and, as they must, simultaneously cope with both racial and educational issues are, therefore, among the most puzzling of all the educational problems facing the American public.

> Many of the recent efforts to integrate black pupils into the mainstream of American public education have been built on the assumption that the problems are essentially administrative. As a consequence, American public colleges and universities have been drives for what is called open enrollment and other schemes to bring about, usually through directive action, a desired combination of races in particular university and college classrooms.

Although administrative procedures and action can be useful in education, educators are concluding more and more that no major problem of education, in reference to effective teaching and counseling has ever been solved solely, or even primarily, by legal or administrative action. To be sure such action often lays the necessary ground work and provides the setting in which counselors may carry on their work, one of the most critical points in any educational system is found ultimately in the relationship between the counselor and the effect he or she is having on the student. It has been apparent, that trained counselors must assume the role of parent substitute during pre-adolescence.

They are needed to offer appropriate educational and vocational guidance, to encourage worthwhile and realistic aspirations, and to stimulate the development of mature personality traits. "In view of the serious unemployment situation among many youth, they should also assist in job placement, especially black youth, and in cushioning the transition between school and work."

The development of the black child in the United States manifests various distinctive properties, both because blacks generally occupy the lowest stratum of the lower-class subculture, and because they possess an inferior caste status in American society. Their inferior caste position is marked by a rather unstable and economically insecure family set-up, by restricted opportunities for acquiring educational, vocational and social-status, by varying degrees of segregation from the dominant minority of society, and by an unusually culturally fixed devaluation of their dignity as human beings.

The consequence of this regrettable state of affairs for the black student's self-esteem and self-confidence, vocational-educational aspirations, and for various interpersonal relations, constitutes a major problem into which the counseling programs of various universities and colleges must begin to look.

The Problem

This study investigated the personal feelings which Black American college freshmen had in regards to the counseling that they had received in the following areas, being labeled as:

1. Academic-success
2. Personality Growth and Maturity
3. Vocational-Aspirations

Purposes of the Study

It was the purpose of this study to (1) Examine present literature in regards to any information surrounding counselor relationships with black students, (2) To evaluate the counselor's effect on black student development by means of a questionnaire distributed to black college freshmen throughout the State of Alabama, (3) Draw various conclusions and make recommendations based on the findings of the student questionnaire.

Importance of the Study

"Counseling may be defined as professional assistance given to an individual which helps him make wise choices, assists him in utilizing his potential, and aids him in becoming self-directing. From this definition, counseling is evidently not merely advice giving. This is a service that requires a great amount of skill and constitutes the major duty of the counselor."

The complexities of a highly mechanized society require diverse talents and special abilities, the counselors concern for pupils does not end when the pupil leaves school. Since education seems to prepare youth for effective adulthood, the school must assist the pupil in taking the first step into the world of work or to a higher level of education.

Delimitations

1. The study only involved students from the black-minority grouping; and those students who were involved in their freshman year of college.
2. The questionnaire that was used was only concerned with the counselor which the students had in his or her senior year in high school.
3. Students from three universities were used in this study. Oakwood College, an institution in Huntsville, Alabama, which is known for its diversity in student population; Alabama A&M University, also an institution in Huntsville, Alabama, which enrolls minority students from all areas of the United States; and the University of Alabama in Huntsville, which is the largest in this particular area, also enrolling students from various parts of the country.

Definitions of Terms

1. **Major-objectives**

This term will be used in referring to the student's major goals in which he or she is attempting to work toward, such as education, employment, or marriage.

2. **Academic-success**

This term will refer to the amount of course work the student is able to master and comprehend as a result of being under the influence and guidance of a counselor.

3. **Personality, Growth, and Maturity**

These terms will be used in dealing with the student's personal growth in relationship to self-concept, self-esteem, and identity in which the counselor has had an influence.

4. **Vocational-aspirations**

This will be used in dealing primarily with the student's career plans, as well as his plans for future employment.

5. **Counseling**

This term will be used in reference to individualized aid for solutions of personal problems within the college setting.

6. **Questionnaire**

This term will refer to a series of questions used to assist in evaluating a particular group or individual opinion in reference to a particular study.

Methodology

This study gathered information from a questionnaire that was distributed to four hundred black college freshmen throughout the State of Alabama. The colleges involved were primarily (1) Oakwood College, (2) Alabama A&M University, (3) University of Alabama in Huntsville.

Each student responded to the Questionnaire alone or in a group meeting. Before any student began to answer the questions, time was taken out to explain what the questions entailed and what the purpose of the study was about.

The Questionnaire was divided into five parts, (1) Personal history of the student. (2) General questions concerning the student's relationship with the counselor. (3) Personal growth and maturity questions. (4) Vocational questions, and (5) Academic achievement questions. It was hoped that by dividing the questionnaire into these five parts that it might give a better understanding of the student's interests, the effect that the counselor has had on the student in relationship to the areas mentioned, and ways in which counseling relationships might be improved when working, counseling and guiding the black student.

All of the data was edited and grouped according to the given specific areas under study. All were grouped according to the responses that each student had given within each specific area.

The study was objective and analytical in structure. It involved a great deal of discussion of percentages tabulated from the various responses, including yes and no questions.

Findings

Percentages of Response

Of the total 400 students Questionnaired there were 261 males as compared to 139 females. On a percentage basis, this would indicate that 54.5 percent of the students were males as compared to 45.5 percent who were females.

Background Information

The first four responses under personal history of the student dealt with the field of interest, how many times each student had seen their counselor within the course of a year, the type of counselor each student had, whether or not they were black, white, Chicano or other.

There were 72.2 percent of the total students Questionnaired who expressed an interest of going into a professional field of study as compared to 27.8 percent who are planning to enter into a non-professional field.

Based on the percentages found, there is a total of 13.3 percent more females who have more of an interest of going into a professional field of study as compared to the males.

It is often found, in many instances within the black family structure that it is traditional for the female child to move into a professional field more so than the male child.

Many black families feel that the pressure of going into a professional field would be less on the female child due to the fact that job competition, racial conflicts, as well as personality disorder are more of a male problem and the black male would have more difficult time coping with them than the female. The study lends support to this.

The question regarding how many times each student had seen their particular counselor went as follows: of the total number of students questionnaired, during their senior year of high school 55.8 percent had seen their counselor one to three times, 26.7 percent had seen their counselor four to six times, and 17.5 percent had seen their counselor seven to ten times. There were 1.0 percent of the students who had never seen their counselor within the course of a year.

Of the total number of male students Questionnaired 50.2 percent had seen their counselor one to three times. Thirty-two percent had seen their counselor four to six times, and 17.4 percent had seen their counselor seven to ten times.

The females Questionnaired responded as follows: 53.9 percent had seen their counselor one to three times, 28.7 percent had seen their counselor four to six times, and 17.3 percent had indicated that they had seen their counselor seven to ten times. It can be seen that over half of the students had seen their counselor at least one to three times within the course of a year.

Table I indicates the number of times each student had seen their counselor as well as the percentages.

Table I

The Number of Times Student Saw the Counselor

Times	Male	Female	Male & Female
1-3	50.2	53.9	55.8
4-6	32.3	28.7	26.7
7-10	17.4	17.3	17.5
Never	0	1.0	1.0

The question concerning the type of counselor each student had, showed the total percentages of students who had a white counselor to the 75.8 percent, those who had a black counselor was 10.2 percent. There were 3.4 percent of the students who indicated that they had other types of counselors. Those being Latin-American and Korean.

Of the total males who responded to this Question, 60.6 percent had white counselors, 19.5 had a black counselor, 17.3 percent had a Chicano counselor and 2.4 percent indicated that they had a Latin-American counselor.

Of the total number of females who responded to this Question 80.5 percent had a white counselor, 10.9 percent had a black counselor and 8.4 percent indicated they had a Chicano counselor and 1.0 other.

It can be noted that the majority of the counselors are white as compared to those who are black or Chicano.

Table II shows the type of counselor each sex had, as well as the percentages.

Table II

The Type of Counselor each Student has had

Type	Male	Female	Male & Female
White	60.6	80.5	75.8
Black	19.5	10.9	18.3
Chicano	17.3	8.4	10.4
Other	2.4	1.0	3.4

General Questions

In discussing the data that dealt with the General Questions, it was found in Question 1, how the student would rate his counselor's understanding of minority problems, that 20.2 percent of all the students felt that their counselor had an excellent understanding of minority problems; 33.0 percent responded Good to this Question, 20.7 percent responded Fair, and 26.0 percent responded Poor.

It should be noted that the majority of the students had a Good and Poor rating in regards to this particular Question.

The males responded as follows: 20.9 per cent rated the counselor Excellent, 34.9 percent as Good, 20.7 percent as Fair, and 24.9 percent as Poor.

The females responded as follows: 20.0 percent rated their counselor as having an excellent understanding of minority, 37.0 rated them as Good, 20.0 percent as Fair, and 27.0 as Poor.

It can be seen that these black students view their counselor's understanding of minority problems as being somewhat Good and Poor. This would seem to indicate that counselors have a knowledge of minority problems that could perhaps be improved.

Table III indicates the total number of students who responded to this Question.

Table III

The students' rating of their counselor's understanding of minority problems.

Response	Male	Female	Male & Female
Excellent	20.9	20.0	20.2
Good	34.9	37.0	33.0
Fair	20.7	20.0	20.7
Poor	24.9	27.0	26.0

Question 21 was primarily a Yes or No Question and it concerned itself with whether or not the student believed that hard work would eventually lead one to success. The total number of responses were as follows: 70.5 percent said Yes, 29.5 percent said No; of the total males, the responses were 75.0 percent said Yes, and 25.0 percent said No. These responses would indicate that a large segment of black students have a strong belief that hard work will be rewarded. Question 3 asked how many of the student's friends were reluctant to see their counselor. The response went as follows: 50.0 percent said Yes, 49.9 percent said No; the male students responded as follows: 50-55.6 said Yes, 45.0 said No; within the female group, 49.4 percent said Yes, 50.6 percent said No.

Evidence indicates that the peer groups of students are somewhat reluctant to see their counselor but also a large segment are not.

An interesting Question to note was Question 4, where the students were asked if they had ever caused disciplinary problems at school. The responses were as follows: 60.3 percent said they had; 39.6 percent said they had not. The females responded as follows: 65.4 percent said they had not. Within the male grouping, 66.0 said they had and 34.0 percent said they had not. Evidence indicates that there have been some problems in the area of student discipline in some of the schools.

In Question 5, the students were asked if counselors should take courses in race-relations to better understand the needs of black students. The total student response was as follows: 70.8 percent responded with Yes and 29.1 percent felt that it was unnecssary for this to occur.

The males responded by stating that 60.4 percent said Yes; and 39.5 percent said No; whereas the female response was 70.8 responding Yes, 29.1 responding as No.

Table IV shows the percentages of students who feel their counselors should take courses in race-relations to better understand the needs of black students; evidence indicates that there is a need for this to take place.

Table IV

Response	Male	Female	Male & Female
Yes	60.4	70.8	70.8
No	39.5	29.1	29.1

Question 6 asked the student if the counselor gave enough personal attention to them, if counselors really try to help, or if counselors are prejudiced towards black students. The responses were as follows: 40.7 percent of the students felt that counselors really do not give enough personal attention to them, 39.7 percent felt that counselors really try to help, and 29.1 percent felt that counselors are prejudiced toward black students and are reluctant to assist them in their educational endeavors.

The male response to this Question was as follows: 40.5 percent responded that counselors do not give enough personal attention to them, 39.1 percent felt that their counselor really tries to help and 18.2 percent indicated that counselors are prejudiced toward black and 2.1 percent omitted the Question.

The females responded as follows: 40.2 percent felt that counselors do not give enough personal attention to them, 46.3 percent felt that counselors really try to help and 13.3 percent felt that counselors are prejudiced toward blacks.

The most interesting finding here is that counselors are attempting to deal with students and to work with them on a positive basis.

Question 7 asked the students if they were reluctant to talk over their problems with a counselor. The total response was as follows: 60.3 percent saying Yes and 37.3 percent saying No. 1.3 percent did not respond to the Question.

The male students responded as follows: 60.2 percent said Yes; 34.7 percent said No, 6.1 percent did not respond to the Question.

This seems to indicate that many of the students are somewhat reluctant to talk over their problems with a counselor. The attitude of the student in relationship to the counselor and problem may be a meaningful reason in regards to the reluctancy.

Question 8 asked if the student personally feels that individual counseling is better than group counseling. The students responded as follows: 70.8 percent said Yes, 27.1 percent said No, and 2.1 percent omitted the Question.

The females responded as follows: 69.0 percent said Yes, and 30.9 percent said No.

It can be noted here that the greater percentage of the black students consider individual counseling of more help in assisting them with their problems as compared to group counseling. Research has indicated that black students have felt that they could express themselves far better in an individual counseling session than in a group setting.

The students were asked in Question 9, if more opportunities in employment will come for blacks as a result of more education; the student gave interesting responses. 70.8 percent said Yes, 27.1 percent said No; 1.1 percent did not respond.

The male students responded as follows: 73.8 percent said Yes, and 26.1 percent said No.

The females responded as follows: 71.8 percent responded with Yes, 22.0 percent responded with No, while 6.1 percent responded with No comment.

The total process of education seems to create a favorable interest in professional growth on the part of many black students, which is showing sound maturity in this area.

Question 10 concerned itself with reasons as to why young students quit school. The reasons were as follows: 30.8 percent responded by saying that finances was the leading cause, 20.4 percent felt that their individual environments caused the problem.

The male students responding to this Question by stating the following: 40.9 percent felt that finances was the leading cause, 34.5 percent felt that it was the parents, 16.3 percent felt that it was the school itself, 8.1 percent felt that it was their environments.

The females were as follows: 30.7 percent finances, 41.8 percent indicated the father, none said the mother, 27.4 percent said the school, none said the community.

It was noted that none of the students checked the mother as the leading cause as to why young students quit school. Throughout black history the mother has always played a major role in the structure of the family.

In many instances the mother has planned and had full responsibility in rearing the children in the home. All of the students Questioned in this study indicated that the mother plays the most important role in assisting them in staying in school.

Table V shows the percentages that each student had in regards to why young students quit school.

Table V

Responses	Male	Female	Male & Female
Poor finances	40.9	30.7	30.8
Father	34.5	41.8	27.5
Mother	0	0	0
School	16.3	17.4	22.0
Community	8.1	0	20.4

Question 11 asked the students if their counselor had been of help to them in certain specific areas of counseling. The overall responses of students were as follows: 40.8 percent said that their counselor has helped them more with academic problems, 31.0 percent said Vocational and Career questions, 17.9 percent said school relationship problems and 10.2 percent said personal problems.

The males responded to this Question as follows: 40.8 percent said Academic problems, 28.5 percent said Vocational and Career questions, 15.8 percent said school relationship problems; and 15.2 percent said personal problems.

The females responded with the following: 47.4 percent said Academic problems, 28.4 percent said Vocational and Career Questions, 18.1 percent said School relationship problems, 6.0 percent said Personal problems.

Many students felt that the counselor has assisted them more with Academic problems than problems pertaining to the student's personal needs.

It also appears that many black students are somewhat hesitant to become involved with their counselor in the area of personal needs and problems.

Question 12 asked the students if their counselor had influenced them more to stay in high school, seek employment before completing high school, or go to college after completing high school. The responses were as follows: 30.5 percent said stay in high school, 14.2 percent to seek employment before completing high school, 37.3 percent to go to college after completing high school. There were 13.7 percent who did not respond to this Question.

The males responded as follows: 40.9 percent said to stay in high school, 15.9 percent said to seek employment before completing high school, 25.7 percent said to go to college after

Table VI

Response	**Male**	**Female**	**Male & Female**
Stay in High School	40.9	36.6	30.5
Seek employment before completing school	15.9	13.6	14.3
Go to college after completing High School	25.7	36.7	37.3
Omitted	17.3	12.9	13.7

completing high school, 17.3 percent did not respond to the Question.

While the counselor appears by this particular Question to be helping the black student to stay in high school, there still needs to be further guidance on college and career placements.

Table VI shows the percentages of responses in regards to this Question.

In Question 13, the students were asked if their counselor understood the needs of black people in regards to their problems on finding employment. The responses were as follows: 50.6 percent said Yes, 36.6 percent said No, 12.7 percent did not respond.

The males responded as follows: 51.4 percent said Yes, 30.9 percent said No. 17.6 percent did not respond to the Question. The females responded as follows: 51.7 percent said Yes, 31.3 percent said No, 16.9 percent did not respond to the Question.

It should be noticed that the counselor is aware of the problems that black students have in locating employment. The students noted a positive impression of the counselor in this regard.

In Question 14, the students were asked if they felt that their counselor had given them enough personal assistance to warrant success in a chosen field. The responses were as follows: 30.8 percent felt that the counselor had given them enough consideration, 30.2 percent felt that the counselor had not given them enough consideration, 36.2 percent were not sure.

The males responded as follows: 30.1 percent said their counselor had, 30.9 percent said they had not, and 38.9 percent were not sure.

The females made the following responses: 44.7 percent said their counselor had, 16.3 percent said their counselor had not, 30.3 percent were not sure, 8.5 percent omitted the Question.

It can be noted here that the attitude of both male and female is that they feel their counselor has given them enough personal assistance to warrant success in a chosen field of study.

Personal Growth and Maturity

In Question 15, the students were asked if they felt that their relationship with their counselor had been a positive one, with respect to their personal problems. The responses were as follows: 30.0 percent said it had been, 40.2 percent said it had not been, 25.0 percent were not sure and 4.7 percent omitted the Question.

The males were as follows: 37.2 percent said it had been, 30.3 percent said it had not, 24.3 percent were not sure and 6.4 percent omitted the Question.

The females responded with 30.6 percent saying it had been, 40.5 percent saying it had not been, 22.0 percent were not sure, and 6.7 percent omitted the Question.

While about a third of both sexes indicated that the relationship with the counselor had been a positive one, yet another third, indicated a less than positive relationship.

Question 16, the students were asked if they personally felt that their counselor was concerned with them only as a student, only when they were a discipline problem, or as an individual with a need for help. The responses were as follows: 30.8 percent stated only as a student, 29.2 percent stated only when they are a discipline problem, 30.0 percent stated as an individual with a need for help, and 6.8 percent did not respond to the Question.

The males responded as follows: 37.0 percent said only as a student, 31.5 percent only when they are a discipline problem, 26.2 percent as an individual with a need for help.

The females responded as follows: 40.6 percent only as a student, 22.7 percent only as a discipline problem, 26.2 percent as an individual with a need for help, 10.4 percent omitted the Question.

Many students felt that the counselor is only interested in them as a student or a disciplinary problem; which is something that should be noted here.

In Question 17, the students were asked if they personally had been discriminated against by their school counselor in disciplinary matters. The responses went as follows: 20.1 percent said they had been, 55.6 percent said they had not been, and 24.1 percent said they were not sure.

The males stated that 21.7 percent had been, 50.1 percent had not been, and 21.1 percent were not sure. It appears that a majority of the black students felt they had not been discriminated against by their counselors, which may indicate a deeper feeling of understanding by the counselor toward the black students and the sincerity as well.

In Question 18, the students were asked to rate their counselor's attitude towards them: 35.5 percent rated them as Excellent, 30.5 percent rated them as Good, 22.0 percent as Fair, and 14 percent as Poor.

It appears that a majority of black students feel that their counselor has an Excellent or a Good attitude in regards to them, which may indicate a very positive role that counselors have with the black student.

Table VII shows the percentages in regards to the attitude the counselor has towards the black student.

Table VII

Response	Male	Female	Male & Female
Excellent	30.5	30.6	35.5
Good	39.3	40.1	30.5
Fair	20.0	25.0	22.0
Poor	1.0	1.3	2.0

In Question 19, the students were asked if they felt that they had a more positive self-concept as a result of working with their counselors. The responses were as follows: 30.4 percent had a Greater Self-concept, 16.0 percent had less, 50.6 percent had not changed, 1.9 percent omitted the Question.

The males responded as follows: 30.9 percent said Greater; 18.1 percent Less, 50.7 percent had no change in their self concepts. The females responded with 30.3 percent Greater, 12.7 percent Less, 49.0 percent indicating no change. It can be seen here that the majority of both male and female students, indicated no real change in regards to self-concept.

Table VIII shows the percentage that each sex had in regards to their self-concept.

Table VIII

Response	Male	Female	Male & Female
Greater	30.9	30.3	30.4
Less	18.1	12.7	16.0
No change	50.7	49.0	50.6

Academic-Achievement

In Question 20, the students were asked if they felt that small group counseling with minority students would benefit them in problems of academic endeavors. The responses were as follows: 60.3 percent said Yes, 34.9 percent said No, 8.7 percent were not sure.

The males responded as follows: 60.0 percent said Yes, 38.1 percent said No, 1.1 percent omitted the Question.

The females responded with 60.6 percent saying Yes, 39.3 percent saying No.

Small group counseling procedures according to both male and female data would seem to be of real assistance in solving many academic problems of black students.

In Question 21, the students were asked how they would rate their counselor's understanding of minority problems. The responses were exactly the same as those found in Question 1 Table V.

Question 22 dealt with whether or not the student received from his counselor the same benefits as other students with academic problems. The responses were as follows, 40.7 percent just the same, 29.3 percent not the same, 22.4 percent not sure, 5.5 percent omitted the Question.

The males responded to this Question as follows, 40.6 percent just the same, 29.8 percent not the same, 21.3 percent not sure, 8.1 percent omitted the Question.

The females responded with 40.5 percent saying just the same, 1.0 percent not sure. In Question 23, the students were asked to what extent do you feel that your counselor has tried to assist you as much as possible in your academic field of interest.

The responses were as follows: 32.3 percent said all the time, 48.5 percent said some of the time, 17.3 percent said never.

The females answered in a similar way as did the males in regards this Question, 32.2 percent said all the time, 46.1 percent said some of the time, 15.1 percent said never, and 6.4 percent omitted the Question.

It appears that counselors are assisting black students in academic fields of interest and the overall percentages indicate a close working relationship between the two.

In Question 24, the students were asked, "Has or does your counselor become directly involved with your parents when you have personal or academic problems?"

The responses went as follows: 20.5 percent said all of the time, 30.1 percent said some of the time, 40.5 percent said never, and 6.1 percent omitted the Question.

The female responses were as follows: 20.7 percent said all of the time, 26.8 percent said some of the time, 45.7 percent said never, and 6.7 percent omitted the Question.

The males responded to this particular Question as follows:

23.3 percent said all the time, 27.9 percent said some of the time, 44.5 percent said never.

It appears here that if confidentiality is being maintained with students this would indicate a certain degree of trust among the students toward the counselor on the basis of race.

The females responded as follows: 60.8 percent said a black counselor, 17.9 percent said a white counselor, and 10.0 percent indicated girlfriend or boyfriend.

It appears that the students identify well with the black counselor, and feel far more comfortable talking and expressing their thoughts.

Table IX shows the percentages in regards to the type of counselor with whom each student would prefer to talk.

Table IX

Response	Male	Female	Male & Female
Black	60.0	60.8	59.8
White	30.0	17.9	19.9
Chicano	10.0	0.0	9.3
Other		10.0	10.0

In Question 26, the students were asked to check the reasons why black students rebel against education. The responses were as follows: 40.7 percent said because it is white oriented, 38.7 percent said because there are not enough teachers; 2.5 percent said that the counselors are inferior, 18.4 percent stated that black students just do not care about education, and 4.1 percent stated that they have poor reading ability and poor insight into specific academic problems.

The males responded as follows: 46.3 percent stated because it is white oriented; 28.1 percent said there are not enough black teachers, 10.8 percent said the counselors are inferior, 14.6 percent said black students just do not care.

The female responses were as follows: 42.0 percent said it is white oriented, 32.0 percent said because there are not enough black teachers, and 20.0 percent said they just do not care and 1.0 percent of the female students said because of a lack of mastering academic problems black students rebel against school.

It was noticed that half of the students indicated that because the educational process is more white oriented many black students rebel. This gives clear evidence that step up recruitment programs of black teachers are needed in many public school systems.

Table X shows the percentage each sex in regards to reasons why blacks quit school.

Table X

Response	Male	Female	Male & Female
White-oriented	46.3	42.0	40.7
Counselors are inferior	2.8	1.0	2.5
Not enough black teachers	10.8	32.0	38.7
They just don't care	14.6	20.0	18.4

Conclusions and Recommendations

The more important findings from the survey are the following:

1. There was a reluctance on the black student's part to go and see his counselor especially if he were white, than if he were of another nationality.

2. It has been found that almost all black students surveyed had some type of disciplinary problem in school which many felt that because the school is white oriented black students have a tendency to rebel against education.

3. It was revealed in this study that the financial status of the black home has been greatly improved. The contributions of both parents towards the financial stability of the home is worthy of note.

4. The attitude toward work. The black students' high school program is an indication that many black students have a very positive concept in regard to the work ethic.

5. It was indicated that a large majority of students felt that they had not been discriminated against by their counselor. This may indicate that counselors, white or black, are not being biased in relationship to the black student.

6. It should be pointed out that many black students expressed an interest in going into a professional field of study. This may indicate a deep interest on the part of black students seeking employment after college, especially in professional areas.

Conclusions

In view of the finding and major analyses, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Black students have a very favorable rating of the counselors over attitude towards them. This positive attitude is causing more black students to seek the aid of a counselor to help them with personal and academic problems.

2. Many black students are aware of the fact that with the proper type of education, opportunities will be opened on a much wider scale.

3. Society is seeing the black student consistently striving to get involved with academic programs that would enable them to have greater financial opportunities.

4. The black student is very much interested in going into professional positions more so than the traditional custodial ones.

5. Parents see the need for the child male and female to continue to strive academically.

Recommendations

After completing this study, it appears that several suggestions can be made to assist counselors who work with black students.

1. There is a need to train and hire qualified and competent black high school and college counselors to meet the needs of the black students.

2. It would be to the advantage of the counselor and the school if counselors took courses in race relations to receive a better understanding of black students and how to counsel with them.

3. The counselor with the school setting should attempt to set up programs whereby black students can get involved with off-campus educational or job centers that would assist them in making career choices.

Studies should be set up to survey black students' attitude towards the counselor, as well as a survey of ethnic problems to be found in school counseling programs.

These are the recommendations that the author feels is imperative; if effective counseling programs are to be maintained.

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICAN HOMINID SITES FROM THE ASPECTS OF STONE TOOL TRADITIONS

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The last two decades have witnessed a substantial effort to increase our knowledge of the earliest stages in the development of man and culture. Since the earliest creatures whose physical and apparent mental characteristics would allow them to be classified as hominids have been discovered in East and South Africa, the quest for answers to the basic questions about the origin of man has centered in this vast region. Our purpose here is to give an estimate, as up-to-date as possible, of the results of investigations carried out by a number of distinguished scientists in anthropology and related fields.

The sites considered below represent today the currently most conspicuous examples of archaeological evidence of the African origin of man, and of his great antiquity apparently millions of years. It was within a time range from five to one million years ago, that an undetermined number of ape-like creatures became so behaviorally effective as to respond consciously and effectively to the survival demands made upon them by the natural environment.

Until recently, the oldest evidence for the existence of a bipedal, rational creature came from Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania. During the late sixties and early seventies, explorations carried out in zones of the Omo Valley in Ethiopia and certain areas around Lake Rudolf in Kenya have changed the picture appreciably.

The archaeological area of Koobi Fora, east of Lake Rudolf has been subjected to investigation by Isaac, Leakey, and Behrensmeyer (1971). Site KBS proved to be of particular interest. This site is one of the three archaeological subregions in which the aforementioned investigators (op.cit.) have divided the zone east of Lake Rudolf since they began their investigations there in 1969. According to them (op.cit.:1130), the K/A dates for the stone tools indicate that the artifact occurrences at Site KBS may be older than comparable ones at Olduvai Gorge.

The surface scatter includes Late Acehulian handaxes and cleavers, Levallois flakes and cores, and foliate points of Middle Stone Age character. The Lower Pleistocene sediments and the material eroded from these strata were devoid of artifacts, except on the slopes adjacent to the superficial deposits on the ridge crests, and on the outcrops of the only tuff bed known at the site, the "KBS Tuff."

In these circumstances it is very difficult to distinguish between possible Lower Paleolithic artifacts and those of more recent date. In the first instance discrimination is based upon context. The feasible thing to do is to look for and recognize low densities of earlier artifacts on fresh eroded surfaces isolated from tool-bearing superficial deposits. Physical condition provides the second basis for differentiation. Lava specimens that have been enclosed for a long time in a sedimentary matrix tend to be deeply altered, and to acquire a distinctive physical appearance. Ultimately excavation is necessary and surface material can be assigned only a stratigraphic provenance on a probability basis (op.cit.).

Excavations took place in the remnants of the infillings of meandering stream channels stratified within the Lower Pleistocene sediments. Conditions in which the tools were found in the engulfed channel suggest they were derived from the tuff. Among the material there were bones from a single hippopotamus mingled with thirty-one artifacts and manuports. Their association was not conclusively established, however. (op.cit.:1131-32).

The stone industry showed a high proportion of flakes and waste relative to core tools (about fifteen to one). During the 1970 campaign only two doubtful examples of retouched artifacts were found. All but four of the artifacts found were of lava, of which the nearest outcrop occurs ten kilometres away. The tools at the site were classified as core tools (i.e. choppers), light duty tools (whole flakes, flake fragments), and manuports (cobbles). Whole flakes composed most of the surface and excavated finds for the 1969 and 1970 seasons, and most of them were made of lava (op.cit.:'32-33).

Isaac and associates state (op.cit.:1133) that the occupation sites containing stone artifacts and introduced broken-up bones probably imply a significant evolutionary intensification of certain behavioral characteristics, which may occur sporadically in non-human primates but which becomes important in Pleistocene Hominidae. These characteristics are the manufacture of tools, hunting or scavenging (or both), food sharing, and the organization of movements around a base. Commenting elsewhere on the Koobi Fora digs, Richard Leakey (1970) states that there is a University of Cambridge K/A report of 2.6 ± 260,000 million years for this site.

The densities of Artifacts and bone fragments at Site KBS are low by comparison with Lower Pleistocene sites at Oldowan and Middle Pleistocene sites at other places. This situation can be attributed probably to the interaction of several factors, such as brief occupation, a low dietary proportion of meat, a weak tendency of the hominids to transport meal to their camp, a low incidence of stone using behavior, or infrequent discarding of tools (op.cit.:1133).

Isaac, Leakey, and Behrensmeyer (op.cit.:1130) claimed that they discovered more than twenty hominid fossils, tentatively assigned to two different taxa. The morphological differences they reduce to sex differences. It is tempting to speculate about what would happen to the early **Homo erectus** notion entertained by the Leakey family, should any of the hominid remains prove under closer examination to have Australopithecine affinities.

Owing to the abundance and excellent preservation of some of the hominid remains, as well as to the very early appearance of artifacts at Site KBS, the radiometric dating of the tuffs has received considerable attention from anthropologists in particular, but also from paleontologists working elsewhere in Africa.

Curtis (1975) attempted a radiometric calibration of the fauna using K/A and A40/A36 methods. The calibration was complicated not only by the reworking and contamination of the tuffs, but also by their hydrothermal alteration in many places. The very first date published by Fitch and Miller (1970) of 2.6 million years for the KBS Tuff in the Koobi Fora formation, a tuff which, as we have seen, is closely associated with the oldest stone artifacts and hominid occupation sites known up to then, was received with the strongest skepticism. However, it appears to be supported by geomagnetic reversal stratigraphy evidence coming from the East Lake Rudolf section, as worked out by Brock and Isaac (1974, 1975).

Cooke and Maglio (1972) were the first to question the date of the KBS Tuff, pointing out that the fossil pigs and elephants associated with the KBS Tuff correlate best with the beds dating close to two million years in the Omo area of southern Ethiopia to the north, and at Olduvai Gorge to the south.

Work done by Curtis (op.cit.) on material collected at three localities in the area east of Lake Rudolf showed conclusively that the material is 1.85 million years old, and not 2.6 million years, and that in spite of all the care taken by Isaac and associates to prevent sample contamination, some did occur in the material examined by Fitch and Miller (op.cit.).

Work has continued with the use of another dating method: the fission track method used by Hurford (1974). He obtained initially an age of 1.86 million years, which he estimated to be inaccurate. In any case, it seems that the corrected date for the KBS Tuff now falls within the Olduvai Normal Event, where formerly it had been placed in the Gauss Normal Epoch.

The next most important finds were made in the lower part of the Omo Valley in Ethiopia, where, according to Merrick and associates (1973), there occur tools of an age similar to those from Bed I Olduvai and the zone east of Lake Rudolf. The Shungura Formation, where the finds were made, has an aggregate thickness of more than 700 metres and a surface area of exposure of about 200 kilometers. A series of K/A determinations showed that the age of the base of the formation is 3.75 million years, while the top is less than 1.4 million years old.

The formation has been divided into ten members, on the basis of nine widespread volcanic tuffs (A-J). Each member, except the Basal Member, is composed of a principal volcanic tuff with overlying series of sediments up to the next tuff. The sediments from Member A through lower G are primarily fluvial, and from middle G on generally prodeltaic and lacustrine.

The lower members (Basal Member through E) run from four to two million years of age. No artifacts or occupational surfaces in situ were found by Merrick and associates (op.cit.) in clearly defined situations at these levels. The oldest artifacts appeared in Member F deposits, definitely in situ and belonging to occupational surfaces. Isolated in situ artifacts were excavated from channel gravels in lower Member G. There were no archaelogical occurrences in the uppermost lacustrine members H, I, and J.

Member F was estimated to be some 35 metres thick, created by fluvial and floodplain sediments. Tuff F at the base of the member varies from 4 to 7 metres in thickness. An average of two K/A datings gave 2.4 ± 0.10 million years of age for Tuff F. Tuff G, directly overlying Tuff F, was dated 1.93 ± 0.10 million years of age.

Site FtJi2, in Locality 396, appeared to be a primary context occupation site. In 1971, a 2 x 5 metres excavation unearthed 95 artifacts in situ. They were made almost entirely of small fragments of shattered quartz lumps and pebbles. They were the only stone fragments found in the entire 2.5 metres of thickness forming the lower half of sub-unit F1. No animal bones were found. The surface scatter of artifacts was suggestive of a maximum north-south extension of 20 metres. The investigators were not able to determine the east-west extension.

The artifacts occurred in very localized vertical and horizontal concentrations, in a clay deposit in which stone fragments and pebbles were otherwise lacking. Their fresh physical condition eliminated the possibility that they might have been subjected to selective transportation, concentration, and deposition by the natural forces acting upon them. Quartz was found very rarely, even in the coarsest gravels of Member F deposits. Only hominid activity can feasibly account for the localized presence of the quartz artifacts in the fine clay sediments.

The FtJi1 occurrence in Locality 204 gave some 130 artifacts in a 2 x 4 metres test excavation at the base of a meandering channel. The channel was some 6-8 metres below the FtJi2 occurrence, at the base of the F-1 (2) sub-unit. The animal remnants included those of elephants, hippopotami, and several species bovids. Some artifacts were in secondary contexts. Their physical condition varied from fresh to heavily abraded. As numerous channel fills in Member F contained abundant mammalian fauna but no artifacts, it is possible that the presence of artifacts with fossils in other channels was fortuitous.

The artifact assemblages, including large core tools such as choppers, and large artificially introduced unmodified natural stones (manuports), were not found among the excavated or surface tool samples. Most of the quartz artifacts are fragments of shattered quartz lumps. Whole pieces and flake fragments were rare. No pieces showing intense secondary retouch were found.

The artifact density of 9.5 artifacts per square metre on the FtJi2 occupation surface is low when compared with most of the Lower Pleistocene occurrences at Olduvai Gorge. By comparison with the earliest archaeological occurrences from Olduvai and Lake Rudolf, the most notable features of the Omo finds are the absence of large tools such as choppers, the preponderance of quartz as raw material, and the generally smaller size of the artifacts.

Several hominid tooth fragments were found by Coppens and associates (1973) at site Omo 57. At the several spots explored within this site, there appeared a number of archaeologicopalaeontological elements in situ but not in place. Their age was slightly older than that of the deposit in which they appeared. The freshness of the specimens showed that they must have come from a nearby place.

Coppens and associates (op.cit.) found surface and in situ artifacts at the top of Series (Member) F and at the base of Series (Member) G. The animal finds were made in situ within Series G, in the third stratum. They comprised fragments of large mammals like the hippopotamus. Among the flakes found at Series G there was one which could have been used as a scraper. Most of the implements were made of quartz. It is interesting to notice that while the raw material used in this site is different from that of the Lake Rudolf sites (lava), the objects found in situ resemble each other very much typologically.

The investigators (op.cit.) claimed that the findings mark the discovery of a flake industry in the Omo basin. The situation raises the question of whether the flake industry preceded the pebble industry or vice-versa. They (op.cit.) see the possibility that the developmental sequence went thus:

1. Cobbles used as percutors (percuteurs), and their fragments.
2. Use of the fragments from the percussion process by the hominids for scraping functions.
3. Preparation of the cobble for the detachment of one or more flakes. There are nuclei resembling choppers and polyhedral stones. The flake was detached from one end of the cobble.
4. Double utilization. The flake is always elaborated, but the nucleus, which at that time had a transversal edge, was used for its own merits as an artifact.
5. Pebble tool industries proper, represented by the Oldowan tradition at Olduvai and Melka Kontoure.

The Omo hominid remains are merely dental and fragmented jaw material. According to Sampson (1974:444) the materials point quite clearly to a diversified population. The population included very massive **A. robutus** types, gracile australopithecines, and small toothed specimens which have been tentatively ascribed to the genus **Homo.** Such an array contrasts sharply, says Simpson (op.cit.), with the South African evidence which suggests a much narrower range of morphological variation for the same period.

Before going into Olduvai Gorge, it is convenient to review the terms used for the earliest levels of technological development in Africa. They are:

Upper Acheulian
Lower Acheulian
Developed Oldowan
Initial Oldowan

The Developed Oldowan can be considered to be partly a phase of the stage previously known as "Middle Acheulian." As Bishop and Clark (1967:897) point out, the terms "Oldowan" and "Acheulian", as well as those of posterior phases like Musterian, Aterian, Pietersburg, Capsian, and so forth, are actually culture-stratigraphic terms. This means that the terms are not solely dependent upon typology of tools but include other factors like hunting practices, settlements patterns, and so forth, which result in distinctive patterns of life for groups at each of these levels.

Since the elimination of the pre-Oldowan (afuan) stage of pebble culture (thanks to the work of Bishop 1959), it has become apparent that the Oldowan tradition is the earliest human cultural tradition. In this respect Oakley (1957) has affirmed that the Oldowan tool kit is not the product of a long evolutionary development from simpler kinds of tools, but the initial stage itself. If one sees the simplicity of the early Oldowan tradition, there is hardly any reason to believe there could have been simpler tools. They represent the minimum degree of simplicity compatible with a rational use of tools.

An important thing to notice when studying the Oldowan tool types, is that the name "pebble tools," which is applied to them as a matter of course, is misleading. There are specimens made from chert and others from rough irregular lumps of quartz and quartzite, which seem to appear in sites in which there are no water-worn pebbles or pebble tools proper.

As Mary Leakey (1971:262), observes, when the first volume of the Olduvai series was published in 1951 (Leakey, 1951) the tendency was to divide and subdivide the lithic industries in evolutionary phases. Moreover, the collection of specimens was done with a certain degree of selectivity, since it was not possible to carry out systematic excavations at the Gorge.

In those days the Oldowan tradition was replaced in the nomenclature by the Chellean. Today the term "Chellean" has been dropped, and the Oldowan is given two phases, Initial and

Developed, followed by an Early Acheulian. The type of tool predominating in the first tradition is the chopper, of which there are several types like side-choppers, pointed-choppers, double-edged choppers, and end-choppers. There are also other tools for light and heavy work, like heavy and light duty scrapers, "anvils," and hammerstones, plus proto-burins.

At least seven of the sites known today at Olduvai represent undisturbed living floors where occupational remains were found in situ, sealed by subsequent deposits. The artifacts were associated with a considerable number of broken bones of mammals, and with natural, unmodified cobbles and other stones brought to the living sites by artificial means but lacking evidence of utilization (manuports) (Leakey, 1966:463).

The most abundant of the six types of tools present at the "Zinjanthropus" site is the light duty scraper. Burins, which at one time were held to be marker tools for the Upper Palaeollithic in Europe occur in both phases of the Oldowan tradition, but not so awls, which do not appear in this tradition. They appear for the first time in the lower part of Bed II Olduvai.

The "outils écaillés" appear in the upper part of the middle section of Bed II, increasing in number in the upper part of this stratum. It is evident that many of the debitage flakes were used for cutting meat. This use can be seen first of all from the number of them and also the fact that the number of nuclear instruments of quartz or quartzite, of a greater size, is inadequate to explain the presence of the great number of these flakes. To this should be added the fact that in those places where the flakes have appeared most of the heavy duty tools are made of lava, while the flakes and the light duty instruments are made of quartz or quartzite.

The Developed Oldowan is the uninterrupted continuation of the Early Oldowan, where there is a persistence of the same types of tools, an increment of those which in the earlier stage were rare, and the appearance of new types. These new types are mainly bifacials, several types of small blades, and spheroids. The acheulian tradition first appears half way up Bed II. According to Mary Leakey (1971) there are no bifacials of a type intermediate between the "proto-bifacials" from Bed I and the true bifacials from the middle of Bed II. This fact in itself proves nothing, since it very unlikely that such a transition would have left concrete evidence. However, Mary Leaky (op. cit.: 269) favors the possibility of an Acheulian intruding into the Olduvai area together with **Homo erectus,** in this case fossil H.9.

Mary Leakey (op. cit.: 270) also considers that those sites containing forty percent or more of bifaces should be classified as Acheulian. In her opinion, the existence of a few bifacial tools is not enough reason to designate a site as belonging to the Acheulian tradition. She also sees differences between the Oldowan and Acheulian bifaces in size, morphology, and method of manufacture. This not withstanding, there are a few sites with a Developed Oldowan (main site at MNK; lower floor at TK) in which the bifaces are in morphology and size more like the Early Acheulian bifaces than those coming from other Developed Oldowan locations, like sites BK, SVK, and the upper occupation floor at TK.

Mary Leakey (1966:463) indicates that there were no important changes in the early assemblages, but that there was considerable variability in the proportion of their components. This variability was seen not only at different sites and in stratigraphic horizons, but also within different areas of a single living site.

Even though differences between the Developed Oldowan and the Acheulian can be estimated to be the result of differences in activities and ecology, both traditions have also appeared under what seem to be identical environmental conditions. This fact points to the existence of two hominid groups at the time of the transition from the Developed Oldowan to the Acheulian tradition. Mary Leakey (1971:272) sees nothing extraordinary in this situation, since she believes that **Homo erectus,** the so-called **Homo habilis, and** a forg of robust australopithecine existed at the time of deposition of Bed II.

Mary Leakey (op. cit.) also believes that the so-called **habilis** can be accepted as the author of the Oldowan tradition. As for the Acheulian, it has not been possible to associate the remains attributable to **H. erectus** (II.9) with this tradition. Choppers and pebble tools of Oldowan type have appeared in other types seen at the Gorge. In this way they have little chronological value, since it is known that choppers and pebble tools have been made from the Villafranchian period to this day.

The artifacts which resemble the most those from the Developed Oldowan tradition come from Swarthrans and from the West Pit at Sterkfontein. In respect to this last site, we can say that it has yielded as many bifacial as has Olduvai Gorge. The great scarcity of flakes is striking. Mary Leakey (op. cit.:273) attributes this to the fact that as happens in the first inhabited sites the fabrication of heavy duty implements took place outside the living site, to which they were taken when finished or half-way finished.

Even though the material which resembles the Developed Oldowan tool kit is found in the South African caves, the material found at Ubeidiya, Israel, is also appreciably similar. Other sites in which a Developed Oldowan is followed by the Acheulian tradition are Melka Kontoure in Ethiopia, Peninj on the west side of Lake Natron in East Africa, and Klipplaatdrif and Three Rivers in South Africa. There are also similarities between the Acheulian of Sidi Abderrahman in North Africa and that from Olduvai Gorge.

Probably the zone at Olduvai Gorge in which a change in cultural tradition becomes more apparent, is the zone going from the middle to the upper level of Bed II. But, as Mary Leakey (1966:463) indicates, from the lower levels of Bed I, which can be dated roughly to 1.75 million years to a horizon a few feet below the aeolian tuff in the lower part of Bed II, there are no important differences in the material. The Aeolian tuff represents a period of desiccation and coincides with a break of some magnitude in the cultural and faunal sequence at the Gorge.

Years ago, Mary Leakey (op. cit.: 463-65) presented to the scientific world the characteristic features of the Oldowan tradition, observable from Bed I to the base of Bed II Olduvai:

a) More than seventy-five percent of the whole assemblage is made of modified flakes and other fragments, including waste. The utilized material is not much more plentiful than the tools.

b) Choppers are the dominant tools; side-choppers even more than end-choppers. The existence of polyhedral specimens seems to have been related to the kind of material available. Discoidal specimens indicate the beginning of a more specialized technique, in which the core on which the tool was made was first prepared by breaking a cobblestone into two parts. There are few chiseledged and pointed specimens, but they can be recognized as different types.

c) The proto-bifaces are extremely crude, apparently representing the first and least skillful attempts at the manufacture of handaxes.

d) The first spheroids proper appear at the top of Bed I (FLK I North). The examples from the lower levels are subspheroid, with extensively battered exteriors and quite prominent ridges.

e) The heavy duty scrapers made on cobblestones resemble choppers in overall size and weight. They are distinctive in the nature of their working edges and in their secondary flake scars. The light duty scrapers compose about thirty percent of the total number of tools. They are generally made on flakes or on small pieces of tabular quartz.

f) As for the proto-burins, many of them are technically as developed as the developed burins from later traditions.

The African Acheulian had its heyday from about 400,000 BC BS (lorgesailie) till about 50,000 BC (Kalambo Falls). Isaac (1969:16) mentions that there are indications that Acheulian tools were made in Africa about 1.4 million years ago. Many are the problems connected with the African Acheulean. Some are old, like the determination of its evolutionary phases, while others are new, like the number of inconsistencies in the dating of many an Acheulian site. For instance, in respect to the dating of the Lower Acheulian of the upper part of Bed II Olduvai, there is a number of characteristics which result in datings ranging from 0.36 to 0.5 million years ago (Isaac, op. cit.: 5).

As a result of this type of problem, it has not been possible to correlate the Moroccan and North African Acheulian sequences, except through the correlation of mammalian fossils and of types of artifacts. The best thing about Bed II Olduvai is that it contains an eolian tuff, which serves as a convenient dividing line between the biostratigraphic and culture stratigraphic divisions within the formation. It could represent an epoch of aridity.

Evernden and Curtis (1965) gave an age of 1.0 million years for the area covering parts of the middle and lower levels of Bed II (Site KA 664), and 0.5 million years for the level overlying what was then known as a "Chellean II site" including a "Chellean-Acheulian" (Developed Oldowan-Acheulian) deposit. The aforementioned industry was attributed to "Chellean Man" (H. 9), whose cranium was found six metres below the top of Bed II (Leakey, 1961).

A particular problem with the Acheulian is the near impossibility of using faunal correlations for dating industries. Inskeep (1969:176) stresses the point that since the whole handaxe period covers only one faunal time span (excluding the related purely African tradition known as the Fauresmith) the archaeologist cannot expect much help from faunal studies in the relative dating of Acheulian sites. This affirmation is reinforced by Desmond Clark's (1960-1313) statement that there seems to have been little permanent change in the type of environment during the Middle Pleistocene. This makes it anything but surprising to see that there was only an extremely slow development of culture.

The apparently complete Acheulian campsite at Olorgesailie (Isaac, 1966, 1968) range in diameter from six to twenty metres, containing artifacts, unused stones, and bone refuse. However, Isaac (1969:10) recognizes the possibility that the concentration of stones might be the result of the action of material agencies.

In either case the artifact morphology implies economic activities in that area. There are indications that one of them was the hunting of baboons, perhaps seasonally.

The African Acheulian sites tend to appear in the vicinity of stream beds and stream conglomerates. While some sites show concentrations of stones others show scattering, probably indicating that they were used sporadically. At Olorgesailie these scatterings cover areas up to 150 x 120 metres (Isaac, op. cit.:10). The Acheulians were effective hunters, as shown by the dismembered **Pelorovis** herd at Olduvai BK II site (Leakey, 1957), the remains of fifty baboons at Ologesailie site DE/98B (Isaac, op. cit.), and the large number of carcasses of **Elephas antiquus** at Torralba and Ambrona in Spain (Howell and Clark, 1963). Nevertheless, we know of no Acheulian occupation site from Europe or Africa within situ human skeletal remains, stone implements, and bones of slaughtered animals.

There are indications suggesting that the differences between the contexts of contemporary or near contemporary sites may be as great or greater than those formerly used to define cultural stage entities in a sequence. The Oldowan-Acheulian sequence is very analogous to the one reported by Biberson (1961a, b). Mary Leakey (1967) recognizes three categories of assemblages in the upper part of Bed II Olduvai: Earlyl Euchelian, Developed Oldowan, and an Acheulian-Developed Oldowan type which must be the type previously known as Chellean-Acheulian. These last two stages were later renamed Developed Oldowan A and B respectively.

As Isaac (op. cit.: 16) points out, all African Acheulian industries of Middle Pleistocene date involved the manufacture of tools from large flakes (larger than 10 cm.), whereas no series of flakes of this size have been reported from an Oldowan assemblage. The situation seems to indicate the emergence of a way of production different from the Oldowan. This new way of working stone could have altered radically the appearance of the Oldowan tradition, without involving any migration into the area. Differential needs may account for the presence together.

The Lower Acheulian tools show simple workmanship with minimal retouching, indicating that the stone hammer technique was used. The Upper Acheulian industries include refined forms with very shallow invasive trimming scars, a feature typical of the cylinder-hammer technique. Quantitative studies have shown that Acheulian assemblages vary greatly even within a single site, like at Isimila (Kleindienst, 1961).

The Late Acheulian found at the upper levels of Isimila contained some Sangoan types. The variations in typology were more marked between the upper (1, 2) and the lower (3, 4) horizons, being similar in both cases to the ones at Olorgesailie. A general examination of the industry shows three types of stone assemblages made mostly of small tools. An assemblage not seen so far in any other place was found at the level known as "Sands 3." About one half of it was large heavy duty tools, the rest being small tools and large cutting-edge tools of unusual shape.

The site may have been a meeting ground for groups living in the same region, with a social organization probably more complex than what had been thought possible up to now. The tremendous variety and quantity of the tool provide evidence for this conclusion. The industry, however, was of the same all over the occupation, giving the impression at times of being more a regional than a temporal sequence. It corresponds to Olduvai 9, Olorgesailie 9-10, and Kalambo Falls 5-6 industry types, or Middle to Late Acheulian.

Isaac and associates (1967:244ff) reported the discovery of two stone artifact aggregates in the Humber Formation, which is part of the Peninj Group. This is a group of two Pleistocene sedimentary formation containing fossils west of Lake Natron in Tanzania. The inferior formation is known as the Hujbu Formation, while the upper one takes the name of Moikik Formation.

The aggregates are comparable to the Lower Acheulian of various parts of Africa. A mandible belonging to a robust australopithecine was found, but not in association with artifacts. Even so, the time difference between the tool sites and the mandible does not seem to be very great.

At Nsongezi, a typical Acheulian industry was discovered in an artifact bearing rubble zone known as the M-N horizon. There were also secondary (post-Acheulian) intrusions of artifacts, to which Cole (1967:491) gives uncertain affiliation. Some of the material included in the trenches seems to be of Sangoan origin. However, Cole (op. cit.: 516) sees very little similarity between the Sangoan material from the Sango Hills and Gayaza areas, and that collected Nsongezi.

This situation had already bothered Wayland (1939) and O'Brien (1939). The former regarded both traditions as separate, or if contact had existed, as existing before the Acheulian became fully developed. The latter postulated a development of the Sangoan from a different type of Acheulian than the one found at Nsongezi. In West Africa the Acheulian lasts till about 45,OOO BC, when it is succeeded by a Sangoan complex at about the time when the Perigordian industries began to appear an Western Europe (cf. Hugot, 1967).

Yet, of all the shaped instruments, handaxes, flake scrapers, choppers, and core scrapers are the only kinds that occur in both Sangoan and Acheulian collections in enough quantities to permit comparisons of average metrical properties. Cole (op. cit.:500-01) observes that there are no differences between the Sangoan and Acheulian choppers and certain flake scrapers. There are some differences in certain types of cores and steep scrapers between these two traditions, though.

The next topic to be considered is the site of Kalambo Falls. As happens invariably with Acheulian sites, Kalambo Falls is located close to water and adjacent to a good source of raw material for making tools. Desmond Clark (1960:314) found evidence indicating a possible windbreak in one of the Acheulian floors (Floor 5). Similar evidence has been found at Olorgesailie and at a much earlier stage represented by remnants of what could have been a windbreak in Bed I Olduvai.

The absence of any appreciable thickness in the cultural deposits shows that the sites at Kalambo Falls were not permanently occupied, though the occupation might have been seasonal. After the discovery of firemaking at the end of Acheulian times, caves were occupied regularly through intermittently in the seasonal movement around a group's hunting territory.

Some places at Kalambo Falls were used as stone tool shops, as shown by the number of boulders found in them. Some of the places showed concentrations comprising handaxes and cleavers of up to twenty-five tools to a five foot square. In other places isolated handaxes and cleavers are found separated by several feet from the next group, suggesting that they might have been the tools of single individuals.

Especially on the bank and down the stream channel at Kalambo Falls, there was a large number of flake tools. This suggests some special activity. Due to his essentially mobile existence, man had to abandon the tools he had used at a given site. He would have carried a few into areas where raw material was not available. There was fishing, probably with the use of traps. Hunting must have been cooperative, demanding some sort of language. Digging sticks were found, which could have been used for digging up roots and vegetables.

The use of fire must have facilitated the working of wood, as well as the occupation of caves and of hitherto less attractive environments. It is possible that some band rights had emerged in respect to hunting areas. Not a single fragment of bone has ever been found at Kalambo Falls; yet wood and pollen are preserved in abundance.

There is little convergence between the Acheulian and the Sangoan at Kalambo Falls, aside from a few artifacts with specific Sangoan attributes found in the uppermost Acheulian horizons (Clark, 1969:146). The Upper Acheulian is found in the lower of the two main stratigraphic members: the Mkamba Member. This member is made of white sands and dark clay beds, while the upper one is made of ochreous sands and gray clay beds. The beds were located in areas of primary archaeological context. At Site A Acheulian artifacts were found in the white sands (Clark, op. cit.:145).

The base of the Mkamba Member lies at an unknown depth (more than 2.75 metres) below the low watermark of the Kalambo River. The primary archaeological horizons containing artifacts occur up to a height of 1.83 metres above the river. The aggregates are mainly undisturbed by material agencies, and lie on very temporary surfaces on which there has been inadequate time for soil to form or vegetation to become established (Clark, op. cit.:190).

The Upper Acheulian industrial complex at the Kalambo Falls basin differs in a number of aspects from the complexes at Isimila, Olorgesailie, Kariandusi, and other sites in Africa. To distinguish the Kalambo Falls Upper Acheulian from that of other sites, the name "Bwalya Industry" was established using the name of a small stream in the Kalambo Gorge. This industry was divided into an older phase named "Moola Phase," and a younger one named "Inuga Phase." The correspondent chart shows the situation of materials in both phases. The most common stone materials were hard and soft quartzites and solidified sandstone or chert, but there is considerable variation in texture and hardness in each of these groups (Clark, 1974:79, 103).

The Kalambo Falls Aceulian is contemporary with a period of uninterrupted and probably fairly rapid aggradation. The latest Acheulian horizons at the top of the deposits have been dated at Site A to more than 61,700 BP. At Site B, some Acheulian floors were dated about 60,300 ± 750 years. Site B deposits are contemporary with a warmer and probably drier climate. The youngest Acheulian sites locations were dated circa 40,000 BP (Clark, 1969:190-91).

The date of 60,300 ± 750 years mentioned above was obtained from a log found next to the largest cleaver to come out of this site in 1955. There is a radiocarbon date of 57,300 BP for the site taken by Bakker (1967:371).

Kalambo Falls is an isolated site, and correlations with better known areas must, in the absence of fossils, be based on the use of stone tools as zone fossils, and on climatic evidence. The first case presupposes that Acheulian industries were practiced in other parts of Africa at the time the Kalambo people lived there. The climatic correlation is based on the interpretation of the observed geological succession at Kalambo Falls, and its comparison with some standard succession elsewhere in Africa (Clark, 1969:211-12).

The most generally accepted standard is that of East Africa, based largely on lake levels, but again depending on the interpretation of geological events. However, the variety of African Quaternary correlation tables elaborated over the years, plus various serious disagreements as to the interpretation of climatic changes, have prevented any good results from being obtained through this procedure (Ibid).

The Acheulian people first occupied Kalambo Falls during a climatic period similar to the present, and the occupation continued during a cooler and wetter time (Ibid:135). These estimates, based on pollen samples, do not coincide with those for the same epoch derived from the Cave of Hearths (Brain, 1967).

No typical Acheuleo-Sangoan transitional sites were found at Kalambo Falls, but this may be due to the fact that the ochreous sands forming the upper zone of the Mkamba Member lie within the lower part of the sands, which pass below the level of the present river (Clark ,op. cit.).

The Sangoan artifacts appear in gravel stringers and on temporary pebble horizons in sites B1 and B2. Radiocarbon dates for the upper levels of these formations have given an age of 37,900 ± 1500/1200 BP. The climate was like that of today. The dates were obtained at an altitude of some 4 metres above the river in ochreous fine and coarse sands. The top of the white fine sand formation underneath is truncated, probably as a result of a nerosional period. Below this formation there is an Archeulian occupation floor with indications of a cooler and wetter climate than today's (Clark, op. cit.:190).

The geological evidence gives little indication that the erosion period separating the two beds of the Mkamba Member was very great. But since the composition of the Acheulian and Sangoan artifact aggregates at Kalambo Falls is sufficiently divergent to show that the one is not derived from the other, sufficient time must have elapsed for the Sangoan to become differentiated. In Clark's (op. cit. :191) opinion this process took at least eighteen thousand years.

In South Africa, horizons containing handaxes can be found at the same levels as the Developed Oldowan, suggesting that the handaxe technique was already in use before the Oldowan had disappeared from the area. The handaxe and cleaver are recognized as the characteristic tools of residual industries found in different parts of Africa. Sampson (1974:102) indicates that few of these industries have been accurately defined, and they have been reported under so many different names that the terminology alone becomes an obstacle for the study of this period.

Isaac (1967:445) has called attention to the pronounced increase in the size of struck flakes in the Lower Acheulian, in contrast to the (Contemporary?) Developed Oldowan technology. In his opinion (op. cit.) it is possible that this change reflects more than just manual dexterity. The production of large flakes was obviously linked to the need for handaxes and cleavers, both tools being assumed to reflect a cultural response to problems of dismembering large carcasses.

Olduvai Gorge still offers the best opportunity for examining the technical origin of the Acheulian and its links with the Developed Oldowan. According to Isaac (op. cit.: 448), if related technical changes did take place elsewhere in the Oldowan world, we have no evidence for them. Neither in Northwest Africa, nor in Spain, Southern France, or Israel, where Acheulian sites occur, is there any proof that this tradition developed from a preceding Oldowan stage. In the present writer's opinion, this might indicate that the sites in those areas were occupied after the Acheulian tradition was well on its way, and no more Oldowan instruments were being made by those groups.

Only at the site of Swarthrans is there some hint of a transition from the Developed Oldowan to the Acheulian complex. Thirty flake pieces were found at this site, showing multiple flaking and similarities with others found at Sterkfontein and among the Developed Oldowan material. Curiously enough, some examples of four types of tools not found at Sterkfontein came to light at Swarthkrans. These are a cleaver, and some picks, choppers, and anvils. Since both **A. robustus** and "Telanthropus" came from the same deposit, their relation to the tools is insecure. Although toolmaking has been ascribed to **Homo,** there is no evidence that **robustus** could not have been a toolmaker (Sampson, op. cit.: 77).

The Sterkfontein material falls outside the range of variation of the Developed Oldowan, but it still resembles it more closely than any other known stone artifact tradition does. One protohandaxe found at this site could suggest that the Sterkfontein sample finds its greatest resemblance in the Developed Oldowan of Olduvai Bed II (Sampson, op. cit.: 77, 74).

One of the most important events of the sixties in the field of archaeology was the demolition of the Vaal River sequence, which had been taken for years as the South African model for the Acheulian development. In the early fifties, Lowe (1952) built a developmental table for the Acheulian sequence in the Vaal River area. The periods of wind-blown sand deposition or redistribution were supposed to represent dry periods, whereas phases of downcutting by the Vaal River were supposed to represent wet periods or "Pluvials."

Today this nice, clear cut picture is no more. Partridge and Brink (1967) have shown that only four sets of primary terrace gravels can be isolated at 200, 100, 70, and 40-0 feet above the river level. All the "Older Gravels" are made of derived hill wash and are not therefore valid as a dating horizon, while the subdivision of the "Younger Gravels" cannot be justified by actual examples in the field. Terrace formation, calcification, and wind-blown deposits have several causes. Among them we find the headward advance of a river during an erosion cycle, and the splitting of the cycle across hard rock barriers in the river valley (Sampson, op. cit.: 114).

Further support comes from Partridge's (1973) study of erosion cycle in South African drainage basins, as they relate to the age of the most important South African caves containing australopithecine material. Significantly enough, Partridge (op. cit.: 77) finds that the highest degree of erosional activity appears in the Orange-Vaal-Harts-Buxton drainage basin, particularly below the Vaal-Harts confluence.

The following Acheulian chronology presented by Sampson (op. cit.) has become standard for South Africa through its use in a series of reports:

Early Acheulian: Klipplaatdrif, Three Rivers, Acacia Road.
Middle Acheulian: Doornlaagte, Victoria Falls.
Late Acheulian: Kalambo Falls, Cave of Hearth, Montagu Cave, Hopefield, Olieboompoort, Cornelia, Wonderboom, Amanzi, Hangklip, the Orange River sites.
Final Acheulian: Wonderwerk, Marston, Rooidam, Blaauwbank. (Fauresmith)

None of these sites contains a definite sequence with one phase overlying another. The chronological scheme for the whole tradition cannot be demonstrated at even one of the sites, and is based on rather ill-defined differences in typology. The three South African sites assumed to be Early Acheulian are all excavated from gravels and hill rubbles, and none is represented by large numbers of specimens. It is now acknowledged by many workers that the Acheulian tradition shows many typological differences both in time and place. They have been inadequately defined, and separate terms to describe geographical variants or chronological phases for the tradition have not yet been agreed upon (Sampson, op. .cit.: 121-22, 108).

In the present state of Acheulian studies, it is clear that only very limited conclusions can be drawn from the analyses available. The two most interesting aspects of the Acheulian tradition are: first, the typological and stylistic differences between different areas in Southern Africa, and, second, the changes that took place with the passage of time. These result in the conclusion that the terms "Early," "Middle," and "Late" Acheulian cannot be justified by the field evidence. All the observations made on the South African material cannot be put on a firm metric base. We must await a systematic survey of all the available material by an analyst using relatively sophisticated techniques, such as those in use for handaxe and cleaver shape analyses (Sampson, op. cit.: 119, 121).

There are several tool typologies for the Acheulian, some taking into account the form of the tool (Kleindienst, 1961), while others have considered sets of measurements taken on the tools (Parkington, 1967). It is interesting to notice that the proto-Levallois techniques are found only in South Africa in the areas of the Karroo, the western Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and the northern Cape province. They are apparently absent from the areas north of the Limpopo River valley. The western limits are not clearly defined (Sampson, op. cit. 121).

As for dating, three techniques have been used: absolute dating by the radiocarbon technique; relative dating of individual sites by comparing the associated faunas; and indirect dating of coastal sites by relating them to ancient raised shore line levels, as done by Kleindienst (1961). The most reliable dates, if any, have been those from Kalambo Falls using the radiocarbon technique. The oldest known dates for the Acheulian still come from Olduvai Gorge, going back more than one million years (Sampson, op. cit.: 125, 126).

The hominid evidence association to the South African Acheulian could hardly be more meager. A very damaged fragment of an adolescent mandible of neandertaloid affinities was found at the Cave of Hearths (Dart, 1948). Twenty-six cranial fragments and a fragment of a ramus of an adult showing neardertaloid characteristics as well, were discovered at Hopefield with an industry showing a strange mixture of Acheulian and later traditions (Singer, 1957).

The last stage of the South African Acheulian presents this particular problem. Sampson (op. cit.: 149) has challenged the existence of a traditional Acheulo-Sangoan phase, arguing that the "transitional" samples have not been shown to differ from the preceding Acheulian in any detail. The difficulty, according to him, stems from the lack of definition of the differences between the two complexes, as well as our ignorance of the changes in raw material usage during this period.

A case in point is the transition seen in the Cave of Hearths in the Makapan Valley. Even though no comparative study of Beds 3 and 4 at this site has been published, Brain (1967) saw that there are a number of interesting similarities among them, including a "core" from Bed 4 which is presumably an Acheulian handaxe. However, there is a sterile screen between both horizions, which has prevented the acquisition of knowledge in regard to the relationship of both beds.

Sampson (op. cit.: 186) indicates that the stratigraphic evidence available from the three different regions in South Africa, demonstrates that the industry following the Late Acheulian is not the so-called Fauresmith, but a complex without any of the characteristics of the Acheulian samples, such as handaxes, cleavers, and picks. He goes on to say that it is now apparent that a remarkably ancient blade-and burin technology emerged in the Central Plateau region of South Africa, south of the Limpopo basin. Its possible origins in the local Late Acheulian of this area cannot be justified by the excavated sites, which have sterile layers separating the tools. Yet, the typological trend toward blade production in the Late Acheulian at least hints at some connection.

In conclusion, we can say with Sampson (op. cit.: 448) that although South Africa offers none of the fine stratified, dated primary context evidence of the eastern African sites, it has nonetheless provided the largest body of hominid fossils so far, and offers a unique insight into one of the niches in which the hominizing process could have operated.

ADDITIONS

1. The Swartkrans tools are made mostly from quartzite, found generally in the form of cobbles. However, there are exceptions, and very few tools found were made from diabase, chert, and vein quartz. Comparing this material with the Sterkfontein material, Mary Leakey (1970:1224-25) is not inclined to see much similarity between them, since she refuses to admit that the cores found at Sterkfontein are really cores. She reasons that cores are leftovers from the production of flakes, and there are no flakes at Sterkfontein. Also, cores should show little or no utilization, while the so-called cores at Sterkfontein have been considerably chipped and blunted by use.

2. The classification of pre-Acheulian industries in South Africa involves a special problem, because of the wide range of variation in tools in the earliest Acheulian stages. As Mason (1961) noticed, this could mean that an Acheulian industry at the earliest stages of development could occur without handaxes or cleavers, assuming therefore a pre-Acheulian look. Conversely, the variability of handaxe and cleaver proportions to other arti-

facts, also complicates the study of the end of the Acheulian, and its relationship to later traditions.

3. Inskeep (1969:175) considers a main factor behind the Acheulian chronological problem in South Africa to be that the closing stages of the Acheulian tradition lie beyond radiocarbon dating. Other radiometric methods, like Pa/Th, K/A, and fission track dating do not appear promising because of the lack of suitable minerals. Another important factor indicated by Inskeep (op. cit.) involves the correlation of the African Acheulian sequence with the European sequence, and through it the adoption of a solar radiation chronology. But this method is no longer acceptable because the four pluvial sequence is no longer accepted. A similar consideration applies in the case of the Vaal River sequence (q. v.).

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BLACK PATRIOTS:
Using Primary Data in Secondary Classrooms

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Teachers are constantly searching for data that provide a sense of immediacy and empathy for students, or in the vernacular, "turn kids on." Narrative materials dealing with the lives of common or "textbookless" persons that also enable students to use primary historical evidence are especially sought after by social studies teachers. One excellent source of this kind of data, ignored by publishers and teachers alike even during the current Bicentennial period, is the Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files.

Most teachers, however, do not have access to the Pension Record evidence located in the National Archives and on microfilm at some major universities.[1] Nor do their heavy teaching loads allow the necessary time for the substantive research required. Given both access and time, this writer successfully developed and taught lessons based on Pension Application material to eighth graders[2] about heretofore anonymous Black Revolutionary War veterans.

Although no one is sure how many Blacks fought on either side during the American Revolution, the best estimate is that 5,000 Blacks fought for the colonies.[3] Among them were Thomas Lively, Artillo Freeman, and Richard Potter, soldiers totally unknown to both textbook writers and historians.[4]

Unlike some Blacks and women hurriedly injected into recent textbook editions, Lively, a free Black from Virginia, seems to qualify for genuine "hero" status. In 1777, at age 41, Lively enlisted in the Fifth Virginia Regiment. At the battle of Monmouth, he was blinded in the right eye; nevertheless, two months after his discharge in 1779 he re-enlisted. Captured at Charleston after suffering a severe leg wound, he became a POW[5] for 10 months before his release or escape. Lively then joined the Virginia militia, marching to Yorktown where he dug trenches as his contribution to Lord Cornwallis's climactic defeat.

Another Black soldier, Artillo Freeman from New York City, may have been the oldest soldier ever to join the U. S. military service in any war—he joined the Continental Army at either age 54 or 55 in 1776. Applying for his pension in 1820 at age 99, Freeman listed his total worth at $15.75 but noted that his Revolutionary War uniform was "invaluable."

Potter's feelings were, undoubtedly, considerably different from Freeman's. Despite serving with the courageous Rhode Island "Black Regiment,"[6] Potter's pension claim was turned down by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun's office. Certainly Potter did not exceed income guidelines; his affidavit stated he had "no property, no family, nor no trade and [was] almost past labour from age and infirmity."[7]

As the foregoing examples and the "excerpts" from the Pension Files that follow illustrate, the uniqueness of this data—particularly when contrasted to usual classroom fare—makes it relatively simple for teachers to elicit a wide variety of student questions. Questions range from the simple to the complex; one class of eighth graders wondered: "What is meant by a substitute?," "Why didn't he know when he was born?," "Why did he enlist at age 14?," and 'Why do we have more things than they did?" Pension record evidence and similar narrative materials seem particularly well-suited to generating learning climates in which both cognitive and affective objectives can be meshed successfully.[8]

It is generally recognized that students need sufficient "background" information before real "inquiry" can take place. Because of the primary nature of the material and its value as early 19th century social and economic history, this author believes lessons derived from Revolutionary War Pension evidence are best taught after students have examined the war in some detail. Even then, a brief written introduction probably should be distributed to students. Before using the material about Black Patriots in this article, teachers may want to write their own introduction, use the excellent page from **Newsweek,**[9] or distribute to students the following:

Blacks and the Revolutionary War

The best estimate is that almost 5,000 Blacks fought for the Colonies against Great Britain during the War. When the fighting began around Boston in April, 1775, there were numerous Blacks who joined the first United States Army.

However, the Americans soon decided that no more Blacks would be allowed to join; by the beginning of 1776 new Black enlistments were banned.

However, the Royal Governor of Virginia—Lord Dunmore—realized the contribution that Blacks could make to the British war effort. He issued a law late in 1775 that freed all slaves that would join the British "Ethiopian Regiment." Hundreds of slaves escaped to Dunmore, but he was unable to provide a secure land base for them. Almost the entire "Ethiopian Regiment" was forced to stay on board British ships where probably more than half of the Blacks died from smallpox.

Increasing manpower shortages, the loyalty of the first Black soldiers, and the efforts of Dunmore combined to change the attitudes of General Washington, other high Army officers, and officials from most states. By 1778, all states except South Carolina and Georgia allowed Blacks to fight for their country.

At first most Blacks were assigned to work details—burying the dead, serving as waiters and servants, guarding prisoners, etc. A Black could never become an officer because of the prejudice against him. However, as the bravery of the Blacks under fire became obvious, it became common for Blacks and Whites to fight side by side. Only one regiment during the entire war was predominantly Black—the famous Black Rhode Island Regiment. Composed mostly of ex-slaves, it received unusual recognition for its bravery.

The willingness of Blacks to fight for the American cause is a subject that needs to be explored in more detail. All 13 colonies permitted slavery and all 13 denied free Blacks basic rights available to Whites. Given these circumstances, Americans today can be especially proud of the contributions made by Black Patriots two centuries ago.[10]

This introductory material about Black Patriots is adequate for students, but many teachers will want additional information. There are three excellent books about Blacks during the American Revolution that should be in every school library;[11] however, none of them cites Pension Record evidence. Students will invariably ask teachers questions about how the Revolutionary War Pension system operated; a brief explanation follows.

Although there were pensions for officers and disabled veterans earlier, the "largest federal welfare program prior to the Civil War"[12] began in 1818 when Congress voted pensions to all Revolutionary War veterans "in need" who could prove they had served at least nine months. The law specified that the Secretary of War, then John C. Calhoun, should make the final decision as to whether individual applicants met the law's criteria. The decisions would be based on evidence gathered from applicants by local courts. Congress, upset by the large number of applicants and the resulting skyrocketing cost, soon became convinced that many men of "reduced circumstances" could not be as poor as they claimed. Therefore it amended the law in 1820 to require proof of poverty. Applicants had to list everything they owned, bedding and clothing excepted, and then the Secretary of War was allowed to cancel pensions for those who "in his opinion" did not need the money. Several thousand veterans lost their pensions, normally about eight dollars a month, but Congress, apparently dissatisfied with some of the pension decisions made by the War Department, amended the law in 1823 to restore many canceled pensions subject to proof of need for aid.

Congress began to abandon pensions as strictly welfare payments when in 1828 it granted full pay for life to surviving officers and other men who had enlisted in 1778 or earlier and served until the end of the war. During 1832 full pay pensions went to all survivors who had at least two years service; those with at least six months could claim a reduced amount.

Four years later, Congress continued its repeated pattern of election year liberalization by making widows eligible for the first time if they had married before their husbands completed active duty. Marriage date restrictions were extended several times until they were removed entirely by 1855; that same year the federal government gave survivors, widows, or minor children 160-acre bounty land warrants. Finally in 1878, a century after the war, eligibility for survivors or their widows was reduced to participation in any battle or total Revolutionary War service of at least two weeks.[13]

After reviewing more than 150 pension applications of Black Patriots, this author would like to offer six hypotheses that may be of value to teachers. The hypotheses seem valid at this point in the author's research, but they are certainly tentative and debatable.

(1) A much higher percentage of free Blacks enlisted in the Revolutionary War than historians have indicated. Obviously, freedom was the motivating force for slaves. Free Blacks, however, joined for a wide variety of reasons—economic rewards, status, and patriotism seem to be the three strongest reasons.[14] Whatever motives prompted Blacks to risk their lives for a nation that enslaved them and denied basic rights to the free among them—Northern free Black males could not vote—their Revolutionary War story needs to be told.

(2) Given the inherent racism of most Americans at the time and the subsequent segregation of Blacks as fighting men in all U. S. wars until the middle of World War II, the surviving records of Blacks fighting in integrated situations are remarkably quite favorable. One can only conclude that Blacks performed as well on the battlefield as Whites. Of course, Blacks were victims of intense discrimination. They could never become officers and were disproportionately assigned as waiters and servants, fifers and drummers, ditch-diggers and POW guards, ship niggers and mess boys, etc. One Black, Pomp Sherburne, reported that he entertained officers at West Point as "an actor for a space of six months or thereabouts."[15]

(3) The overwhelming poverty of pension applicants in 1820 will astonish students and most teachers! Cato Abbott was "altogether destitute;" while Pomp McCuff said he was "miserably poor," claiming a wife and children ages ten, eight, and three and putting the worth of the family's total possessions at $8.03. This amount is high compared to Sharp Camp who listed a hoe ($.50), a walking cane ($.12), and a Testament ($.34) for a total of $.96; or York Champlin, a Rhode Island mariner, who had only his sea "bag" worth a quarter. Even these two were better off than Samson Cuff who said simply when asked about his property, "I have none." When Ceazer Updike, who fought as part of Rhode Island's Black Regiment and had his discharge signed by George Washington, declared that he had no property and one of his supporting witnesses said Updike was about blind, the certifying judge wrote, "I believe the Negro to be poor enough."[16] Yes, the evidence is overwhelming that

the great majority were "poor enough." Of course racism with its accompanying political, economic, and social sanctions generally kept free Blacks at the bottom of society, but many White pension applications, particularly Southern ones, tell a similar tale.

(4) Despite their poverty, the pension applicants seem to have reflected both pride and dignity. It was not that they were seeking a handout; it is obvious that they considered a pension as their rightful and long overdue award for valuable services rendered. Indeed, it was! Perley Rogers' sister recalled her brother's returning home at about the close of the war "having a considerable quantity of continental money which soon became worthless and that he gave some of it to my sister and myself. . . ."[17] Not only did the pension serve as a just reward and a 19th century Social Security program for these aged veterans (and their widows), it also provided tangible proof that the U. S. Government remembered and appreciated their efforts. To Blacks particularly, so cruelly discriminated against by most of their fellow White citizens, this recognition must have been exceedingly gratifying.

(5) There seems to have been far more prejudice against Blacks receiving their pensions at the federal level than at the local level, not an illogical assumption considering the racial views of Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, ultimately responsible for original certification under the first general pension law of 1818. Since Blacks were usually debtors and, in some cases, dependent on local charity, it certainly was in the general interest of the community to assist the potential pensioner.

This may explain why local officials seemed fairly helpful to Blacks, who, of course, had no clout politically. It seems apparent that local officials often purposely avoid racial identification entirely.[18] Most local officials knew that the Black veteran in their midst had performed a valuable service for his country, even if they did not dare admit it openly.

(6) As a group Blacks seemed more likely to remain in service until the end of the war as their enlistments tended to be for longer periods than Whites'. Cato Howe

> of Massachusetts fought at Bunker Hill and remained in the Continental Army until the final peace of 1783—almost 8½ years of continuous service. Jude Hall of New Hampshire served eight years, only to see three of his sons kidnapped and sold into slavery in the early 19th century.[19] Young soldiers also had lengthy service records; for example, Prince George of Connecticut served as Captain Prentiss's drummer—beginning in 1777 as a 13-year-old; he had six years of service at age 19 when the war ended. One rather simple explanation for this tendency is that Blacks left very little, therefore they had far "less to go home to."

By explaining the pension applications of Revolutionary War veterans and their widows, students and teachers can rescue forgotten men—the Livelys, the Freemans, and the Potters—from historical oblivion while simultaneously inquiring into social and economic vistas largely ignored in most classrooms. The following sample lesson plan and its accompanying 16 excerpts from the Pension Applications of Black Revolutionary War veterans is just one illustration of how primary historical material can be successfully used to examine past experiences of "common" Americans.

A Sample Lesson Plan: BLACK PATRIOTS

Introduction

Teachers need to explain the source of the data and make sure that students have a workable definition of "pension."

Objectives

After examining "Excerpts from the Revolutionary War Pension Applications" in small groups and participating in a teacher-led discussion, the majority of the students will—to the teacher's satisfaction—be able to:

(1) explain why both free Blacks and slaves joined the American war effort and identify at least one probable difference in the reasons that motivated these two different Black groups;

(2) identify at least two differences between the recruitment policies followed during the Revolutionary War and subsequent U. S. wars;

(3) discuss the difficulties that illiteracy created for huge numbers of "common people" during the 18th century;

(4) compare the Revolutionary War Pension payments with welfare and/or pension programs today;
(5) further develop decision making skills by participating in small groups;
(6) gain experience in working with edited "primary source" material;
(7) have a greater sense of empathy for the sacrifices of all Revolutionary War soldiers, and
(8) become more thankful for the affluence of the United States today.

Method

Divide the class into four groups and make sure each member of group has the same one-page "Excerpts." Ask each group to study its particular one-page handout and do the following: (25-30 minutes)

(1) "As a group you must decide together what the group thinks are the three most important facts/ideas on your Excerpts page. Do not choose people or stories—it might be possible that your group would choose all three of your facts/ideas from the same person's story."
(2) "The group must be prepared to indicate why it chose the facts/ideas as it finally agreed on."
(3) "Ask a member of your group to serve as a secretary and write down at least two questions about Black Patriots that you would like to ask the teacher."

While the students are working on (1) above, the teacher is to circulate around the room and as each group selects a fact/idea, the teacher (or a student) writes a synopsis of it on the board. (This encourages groups to work since the teacher may say, "I've already gotten two from Group B but Group C hasn't even picked one yet.")

After the groups finish, the teacher enters into an inquiry type discussion with the entire class based on the material on the board. For example, concepts that usually appear in one form or another, and often more than once, are (1) the substitute system, (2) age of enlistees, (3) illiteracy, (4) poverty in the early 19th century, (5) heroism, (6) war casualties, (7) slavery, etc. As the class and teacher discuss a concept the teacher usually groups the items on the board that deal with the concept and enlists students from appropriate groups to add factual material to the discussion from their particular "Excerpts."

The class ends with the teacher's attempting to answer questions posed by each group. The teacher may not know the answers to all questions; therefore hypotheses can be explored with the class and research topics assigned for further study, if desired.

Excerpts from the Revolutionary War Pension Records

1. Lewis Hinton—Virginia Sailor Born 1758, Service Dates 1778-1782

Lewis Hinton was a slave to William Hinton. William enlisted in the navy for five years in 1777. After more than one year "his health became so bad that he was permitted to leave the service —provided he could furnish a substitute." His slave, Lewis, took William Hinton's place on board the ship, **Dragon**. While on the **Dragon** Lewis recalled "that they had a fight with the British Schooner, **Lord Hoover,** which Schooner outsailed us and got away." Later in the war the **Dragon** was trapped "by the fleet of the enemy in the James River, . . . and finding no chance to escape, we left the ship and returned home."

his
Lewis X Hinton
mark

2. Cuff Wells—Connecticut Soldier His widow, Phyliss, received the pension

In 1837, Phyliss Wells stated "that she was married to Cuff Saunders, **alias Cuff Wells,** who was commonly called Doctor Cuff, who was a slave of Israel Wells . . . and that in order to obtain his freedom [he] enlisted" in 1777. First he was a waiter to an officer, but when it was discovered that "Cuff possessed considerable medical skill by having some years before been a slave of Doctor Langford of Hartford" he was put to work as a surgeon's assistant. He also worked part of the time in the Apothecary (Drug) Store of the Continental Army at Danbury, Connecticut. In 1783, he married his wife at her master's house and returned home later when the war finally ended. He built a small house for them but they did not live happily ever after. Despite Dr. Coleman, a neighbor, looking after him, Cuff Wells died in 1778 "after a severe sickness with the Influenza."

3. Ephrain Hearn—Virginia Soldier Born 1745, Service Dates 1777-1781

A free Black, Hearn was drafted and served 18 months. He then re-enlisted at Valley Forge on December 10, 1778 for the remainder of the war. After marching to and fighting at Charleston, he was captured by the British and held prisoner. After nine months the British took him to New York City where he was able to escape after a few months. He then returned to his home in Virginia.

4. Winsor Fry—Rhode Island Soldier
Born 1763, Enlisted in 1777 at age 14 for entire war

He fought for his country (most of the time as a teenager) for six and one-half years and received a 100-acre land grant when the war ended. However, in 1820 he owned "no property whatsoever," and three years later, in 1823, he died.

Excerpts from the Revolutionary War Pension Records

1. Ambrose Lewis—Virginia Sailor and Soldier
Born 1753
Sailor 1776-1779
Soldier 1779-1783

He served for three years in the Navy and then enlisted in a Virginia Army Regiment in 1779. Wounded in the leg and taken prisoner by the British at Camden he was kept a prisoner of war at Charleston until the war ended in 1783. In 1821, at age 68, he said "the wound in my leg received at the Battle of Camden . . . [often] breaks out into an open ulcer; it is always in a condition to render me a cripple in that leg. I have no family but a son about ten years of age who is unable to contribute to my or his own support."

his
Ambrose X Lewis
mark

2. London Hazard—Rhode Island Soldier
Born 1757;
Enlisted 1777

He was born a slave and while still a boy was sold to Godfrey Hazard in Rhode Island. He first entered the army as a substitute for Samuel Hazard, a relative of his master, for one month. He then served as a substitute for other relatives of his master and also other persons. After the war ended his master gave him his freedom.

3. Cato Fisk—New Hampsire Soldier — His widow, Elsa, received pension; Dates of Service 1778-1783

He listed his property in 1820 as follows:

A small hut standing on another man's land $40.00

1 cow $15.00	8 old chairs $1.50	Iron ware $1.50
1 pig $ 3.00	2 old tables $1.00	An old ax $ .67

When his widow Elsa applied for her pension in 1837 a White friend told the following story about her marriage.

"I knew her well, she was courted by a colored man, Cato Fisk, and I remember her being published to Cato and I laughed at her about it and in the spring of 1783 the said Cato Fisk and Elsa were married . . . the next day after they were married I . . . wished Elsa joy of her marriage. Cato was at the door cutting wood . . . , he was a drummer in the army and a fiddler at home; he continued in the army several months after he was married."

4. Thomas Lively—Virginia Soldier — Born 1736, Service Dates 1777-1781

A free Black, he volunteered at age 41. He served a two-year enlistment—losing his right eye at the battle of Monmouth. Two months after his discharge he re-enlisted, was wounded in the leg at Charleston and captured there by the British. He was a prisoner for 10 months. After his release or escape he served as a substitute in the Virginia Militia where he helped defeat General Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Excerpts from the Revolutionary War Pension Records

1. Prince Bent—Rhode Island Soldier (member of the famous Black Regiment) — Born in Africa (didn't know when), 5 years of service, 1778-1783

Prince Bent fought in Rhode Island when he first joined but "he was afterwards taken prisoner by the enemy . . . for about eight months, then carried to . . . Martha's Vineyard where he and four others stole a boat in the night and made their escape." He rejoined the army and helped capture General Cornwallis's army at Yorktown. As an old man applying for the pension in 1820 he said that "he is by profession a laborer that is severely affected with rheumatism so much as to have almost lost the use of his limbs, that he is unable to labor and mostly dependent on his country for support."

2. Jonathan Overton—North Carolina Soldier — Born 1763; joined at age 16 in 1779

He served as a substitute for the man he was apprenticed to. He helped defend Charleston, was captured by the British but finally paroled. After returning to his hometown, Edenton, N. C., he re-enlisted, marched to Virginia and fought in a three-day battle between the Americans and Lord Cornwallis's army.

3. Sharp Liberty—Connecticut Soldier — His widow, Lucy, applied for the pension in 1839

Lucy Liberty said her ex-husband was a slave but that he won his freedom by serving in the Revolutionary War. She also said that "never having been taught to read or write she had no record to refer to." However, even though she couldn't remember the day or month of her marriage, "of the year (1780) she is confident from the age of her oldest child." She never received her pension because the U. S. Government thought she had "unsatisfactory" proof of her claim.

4. Jack Green—New York Soldier — Born 1760; Served 1777-1780

In 1820 he reported owning no real estate. Except for his family's clothing and bedding he owned **only** two tables, two chairs and a few knives and forks. His family consisted of his 43-year-old wife Laura, an 11-year-old daughter Marcia, and his three sons—John, Alden, and Thomas—ages 9, 6, and 3.

Excerpts from the Revolutionary War Pension Records

1. Ceaser Shelton—Connecticut Soldier (Alias Ceaser Negro) — Born 1750 on a slave ship in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, service dates from 1777-1780

A slave of John Shelton, he enlisted as a substitute for his master's son provided that he receive his freedom. He fought in battles at White Plains, at Germanton, and at Saratoga. At a later battle he was stabbed in the back by a sword and hit in the shin by a cannon ball.

his
Ceaser X Shelton
mark

2. Artillo Freeman—Massachusetts Soldier Born 1721, enlisted 1776

At age 99 in 1820, Freeman lived in New York City with a wife, age 88, and a 30-year-old crippled daughter. He reported what he owned as follows:

Bed and bedding	$3.00
Pots, kettles, coat, 3 shirts	$3.50
4 chairs and crockery	$1.50
3 pr. overalls, 2 vests, hats, shoes and socks	$3.25
1 chest and trunk	$1.00
Wife and Child's clothes	$2.50
1 pig	$1.00
	$15.75

Revolutionary Uniform—Invaluable

3. Prince Robinson—Rhode Island Soldier His widow, Ann, applied for the pension in 1840

When Ann Robinson tried to get the pension a White friend wrote: "Prince was lame in one of his lower limbs and blind in one eye. Both proceeding from wounds . . . at the time the Black Regiment was cut to pieces in battle . . . Jacob Lawyer was a White man [who] took Prince 'in his arms' from among the dead and wounded in the field and carried him into camp. Prince's wounds in the head were apparently from a sabre, as the scar extended obliquely from near the temple, over the eye and through one side of the opening of the nose." The friend didn't know how he became crippled but once she asked his wife "how she came to marry a lame Negro? . . . The reply was that they were married while Prince was in the army before he got hurt." Despite this evidence Ann did not get her pension.

4. Peter Nash—Connecticut Soldier His widow, Lydia, received the pension

Both Lydia and Peter were slaves when married (she to a doctor and he to Captain Thomas Nash) but she "has no record" of her marriage. Captain Nash, Peter's owner, commanded a Coast Guard company. At first a waiter, Peter later helped fire the cannon and carried a musket. When a soldier named Walkerman "was shot through the head . . . Peter stood by his side when he was killed and that Walkerman's cap was given to Peter."

FOOTNOTES

[1] This writer used the microfilm set *Selected Records from the Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files,* Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1969, available in the William C. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[2] During the 1975-1976 school year, ten different eighth grade classes participated as field testers of this material. The three schools involved were Mineral Springs Junior High School, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Southwest Junior High School, Clemmons, N. C.; and Mt. Airy Junior High School, Mt. Airy, N. C.

[3] Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973, paperback; hardback published at Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), IX. Quarles' 5,000 estimate has won general acceptance by historians. One documented statistic about Black participation is Adjutant General Alexander Scammell's 1778 report that there were 758 Blacks in the Continental Army. This report is quoted by W. B. Hartgrove, "The Negro in the Army of the Revolution," *Journal of Negro History* 1 (April, 1916), 127, and is found in the Washington Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

[4] Pension record evidence is documented by giving the veteran's name, state, application number and where applicable the widow's first name as follows: Thomas Lively, Va., S 38144; Artillo Freeman, Mass., S 44853; and Richard Potter, R. I., R 8380; in the *Selected Records.*

[5] POW deaths exceeded battle deaths; an estimated 8,500 perished as British prisoners. See Howard H. Peckham (ed.), *The Toll of Independence: Engagements and Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 130.

[6] For the best account of the organization of the Rhode Island Black Regiment, its courageous battle record and its final disbandment see Lorenzo J. Greene, "Some observations on the Black Regiment of Rhode Island in the American Revolution," *Journal of Negro History* 37 (April, 1952), 142-172.

[7] He was obviously a victim of a bureaucratic error when his pension application was rejected. Richard Potter's name appears on a copy of the original roll of the Rhode Island Black Regiment; see Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution,* 1770-1800 (City of Washington: National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, 1973), 56.

[8] See "A Sample Lesson Plan: Black Patriots" by this author at the end of this article for examples of both cognitive and affective objectives.

[9] *Newsweek,* "Founding Brothers" (August 18, 1975), 41.

[10] Readability is a problem for every teacher as it was for this writer. This handout on Blacks and the Revolutionary War, written expressly by him for eighth graders, reads at a ninth grade level compared with the *Newsweek* article's eleventh grade readability rating.

[11] Quarles, *Negro in the Revolution;* Kaplan, *Black Presence* and William C. Nell, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolutionary War* (Boston: Herbert Wallcott, 1855; reprinted New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times,* 1968) are the three books on this topic every secondary school library should have.

[12] Dr. John Shy, University of Michigan History Professor and noted Revolutionary War author, orally to this writer, August 11, 1975. Dr. Shy directed the *Revolutionary Generation,* a National Endowment for the Humanities sponsored seminar for college teachers in 1975, that provided the initial opportunity to begin the research that led to this article. Additional support and encouragement during the 1975-1976 academic year came from a grant from the Consortium on Research Training at Greensboro, N. C.

[13] All information on the pension laws is taken from "Introductory Remarks" by Howard H. Wehman which precedes each of the 898 microfilm rolls in the *Selected Records.*

[14] The author believes that teachers should be very careful to distinguish between the two groups of Blacks. For a slave to win his freedom by substituting for his master or his master's relatives is not at all comparable to the varied reasons why free Blacks were willing to enlist.

[15] Pomp Sherburne, N. W., W 17297, Flora Bell, in *Selected Records.* His widow recalled his acting ability "in what was called the New Series at West Point." The author has not been able to find any other references to plays at West Point.

[16] Cato Abbott, Mass., S 32655; Pomp McCuff, Conn., S 36084; Sharp Camp, Conn., S 37821; York Champlin, R. I., S 34689; Samson Cuff, Conn., S 34616; and Ceazer Updike, R. I., S 39871; see *Selected Records.*

[17] Perley Rogers, N. H., W 5730, Esther; see *Selected Records.* Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1940), 39, mistakenly claims Rogers became an officer.

[18] The author identified and reviewed 155 Pension Applications of Black veterans; 83 of these identified the applicant as a "man of colour," "Negro," "mulatto" or "black man." The remaining 72 were identified as Black (at least a 90% possibility or better) through collaborating secondary sources. Max E. Hoyt's *Index to Revolutionary War Pension Applications and Bounty-Land-Warrant Files* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1959) was invaluable in the painstaking search for names of Blacks.

[19] Nell, *Colored Patriots,* 119.

BLACK TEXANS AND THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT: A STRUGGLE FOR FIRST-CLASS CITIZENSHIP (1900-1972)

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I

One result of the Civil War was the addition of three Amendments to the United States constitution which implicitly concerned the Negro. Of these three Amendments, the Fourteenth was of greatest importance in both the constitutional history of the United States and the history of the Negro race in America. This Amendment was projected and passed with the design of securing and protecting the Negro in the rights of freedom and citizenship.

Except for the years immediately following the Civil War, in no era has it been more difficult to protect rights and privileges of minority groups, the Negro among them, than in the decades since 1900. These have been decades of crisis and readjustment in rights of Negroes in Texas, with many rights being disregarded by state and local officials. Negroes have been hindered economically, segregated socially, and their suffrage left unguarded politically.

No one of the three "Negro Amendments" has been invoked by Blacks as frequently as the Fourteenth. This Amendment has been the Negro's chart of liberty — a bulwark of protection against inequality and discriminatory treatment in all states.

During the period of this investigation, 1900-1972, no specialized study of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Negroes of Texas has come to the writer's attention. It should be noted that some aspects of the subject have been treated in various articles, and investigations concerning Negroes on a national level have been published, but none on the Negro in Texas. Also, the articles deal with the Fourteenth Amendment as it has applied to Negroes only in the years between 1920 and 1970.

The writer has attempted to find out through historical research how effective the Fourteenth Amendment has been in protecting the rights of Negroes who reside in the state of Texas. Economic, social, and political forces evident in the region, state, and nation and their influence on the courts' interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment will be given full consideration.

The aim of the study is to show how the Black man in the United States used the Fourteenth Amendment as a vehicle as he moved along the road to first-class citizenship. Thirty cases will be used, and an interpretation given to each court's reasoning for its findings. Also, national and international forces will be looked at to see what part they played in the decision rendered by the court.

II

Suffrage rights conferred upon Black Texans by the constitution of 1869 were never taken away, but in the years that followed many ways were found to abridge those rights.[1] First came the White citizen parties,[2] the terror of the KKK, and then other means, both legal and non-legal to reduce Blacks' appearance at the polls.

White Texans never looked favorably upon the Negro possessing the ballot. The conservative forces led by Judge A. W. Terrell of Travis County made several attempts to get through the legislature a bill requiring the payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting.[3]

At the turn of the century the status of Blacks was at its lowest point. Imperialism was the key word in international politics. In the South, as well as in Texas segregation was found in almost all walks of life. It was truly the age of white superiority and black inferiority.

The Texas legislature in 1902 passed a constitutional amendment and the citizens ratified it. The Amendment was primarily aimed at suppression of a major part of the Negro electorate.[4] The poll tax did reduce a large number of blacks voting in Texas, but the most effective weapon to disfranchise Negroes was the White primary, a subject to which we now turn.[5]

The Primary

The stranglehold on black suffrage was drawn more tightly by a primary law passed by the state legislature in 1923. Of all the so-called legal devices for reducing Negro participation in Texas politics, perhaps the most effective was the white Democratic-party primary. It was most effective because it disfranchised Negroes by excluding them from participating in primary elections, which, for all practical purposes, were elections in this one-party state. At the same time, it met all tests of legality because current theory considered the Democratic party a voluntary association which could discriminate on the basis of race or other grounds in its private affairs without violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The white Democratic primary was such an effective barrier to Negroes on the road to accomplishment of political equality that it demands study in detail. What was its origin, and why was it resorted to?[6] The origins of the Democratic primary are obscure and not easily traced. Lewinson, however, suggests that the primary's beginnings go back to the color line drawn during Reconstruction days by the self-labeled "white citizens party," which arose in the Black Belt counties of East Texas.[7] V. O. Key concludes that this device originated about as early as the direct-primary method of nomination appeared on the southern scene.[8] Henry A. Bullock finds that the primary started as early as 1895, for in April of that year the Texas legislature passed a law requiring primary elections held by political parties to comply with state election laws.[9] In doing so, Texas implicitly recognized political parties as a functional segment of its governmental machinery. The Terrell Election Law of 1905 made the Democratic primary the most effective device for disfranchising Negroes.[10] This law provided "that the county executive committee of the party, holding any primary election, may prescribe additional qualifications necessary to participate in them."[11] Rice finds "Black Populism" responsible for raising the "bugaboo" of Negro domination. He concludes that this movement led directly to the poll tax and the white Democratic primary.[12]

In looking backstage, one finds that at the center of the agitation for denying Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic primary was the dissatisfaction of various factions, especially the losing faction, of the party over the use of black votes.[13] As long as a faction was on the winning side in an election, few complaints were heard from it about Negroes and Mexican-Americans voting in the primary. True, there were always a few whites who would deny blacks all political rights, but this was not the common outlook in 1924. The primary act was an outgrowth of a minor political squabble among white politicians in Texas.[14] In 1918, D. A. McAskill and John Tobin both ran in the Democratic primary of Bexar County for district attorney. In the past, both had counted on Negro support. Now, blacks had to decide between two friends; they chose Tobin, and he was elected.[15] In retaliation, McAskill began campaigning for a law to bar Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary. In 1923 the Texas legislature enacted a statute which forbade Negro participation in the state's Democratic primary election. The white primary law, passed in 1923, declared that:

> In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary election held in the state of Texas, and should a Negro vote in a Democratic primary election, such a ballot shall be void and election officials shall not count the same.[16]

McAskill hailed the law as a pioneering piece of legislation. He remarked that he conceived the idea after a study of **Kay** v. **Schneider** and the **Newberry** case.[17] But the law backfired on McAskill. Tobin, the rival Democratic leader in San Antonio, was successful in getting the city charter changed to provide for a nonpartisan municipal primary; so Negroes were still in a position to vote.[18]

The Supreme Court of the United States had partly opened the door in 1883 when, ruling on the Civil Rights Act of 1875, it held that private persons did not come under the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment as the state did concerning racial discrimination.[19] In the **Newberry** case, in 1921, speaking for the Court, Justice James C. McReynolds held that the word "election" had the same significance as it had at the time the Constitution was adopted.[20] So primaries were not elections and did not come under the ban of the Fourteenth Amendment because they only got candidates ready for general elections.

Blacks Carry Their Fight to the Court

In order to test the constitutionality of the primary law, it was necessary to find a Negro who was willing to try to vote in a Texas primary. This was difficult because racial tension, lynching, and Klan activities had continued to mount since World War I. The combination of obstacles was enough to dishearten almost anyone. But they were not too great for the courage and initiative of Lawrence Aaron Nixon of El Paso. A thoughtful, well-educated, quiet man, who, like most Negroes of his generation, had had to struggle against poverty, he was the leader of the Negroes of El Paso, and rekindled hope and stimulated the courage of the Blacks to resist disfranchisement by the primary law.[21] He volunteered to provide the NAACP with a test case by attempting to vote in a primary election. He was prevented from voting on July 26, 1924, by the Democratic election officials in El Paso.

Nixon then challenged in federal court the constitutionality of the Texas primary law.

The plaintiff contended that the Democratic party primary elections in Texas were recognized and regulated by law and that casting a ballot in such an election was therefore an act of voting within the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment.[22]

The state attorney general, in presenting the defendant's brief in **Nixon** v. **Herndon,** argued that the nominating primary of a political party was not an election, and that the regulation of such primaries was a political, not a legal, question. A primary could not be put into the same category as a general election because it was merely a method of selecting the candidates of a political party or voluntary association.[23]

In a decision on the **Nixon** case, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes based his ruling on the Fourteenth Amendment:

> We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment, because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth. That amendment . . . was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect Negroes from discrimination against them. States may do a great deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is clear for extended argument that color cannot be made a basis of a statutory classification affecting the rights set up in this case.[24]

Holmes believed the primary problem of blacks had now been settled. It was reported that when he finished reading the opinion, he turned to a member of the court and remarked "I know that our good brethren, the Negroes of Texas, will now rejoice that they possess at the primary the rights which heretofore they have enjoyed at the general election."[25] The Negroes had won round one in their fight for first-class citizenship; round two would soon begin.

On May 9, 1927, Governor Moody sent a message to the legislature asking for the repeal of Article 3107, which had been declared unconstitutional. In its place, he suggested the enactment of a statute which would vest power in the executive committee of the several political parties to determine the qualifications of their members.[26] One member of the House of Representatives unavailingly complained that,

> In my humblest judgement, it is far more dangerous

> to entrust our whole political destiny to a few men than the scare of the Negro question can ever be. I believe the whole affair makes a mountain out of a molehill, and it is un-American and undemocratic.[27]

The legislature quickly passed the bill recommended by the governor, which read:

> Article 3107. Every political party in this state through its State Executive Committee shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and shall in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or participate in such political party; provided that no person shall ever be denied the right to participate in a primary in this State because of former political views or affiliations or because of membership or non-membership in organizations other than the political party.[28]

In July, the executive committee of the Democratic party passed the following resolution:

> That all white Democrats who are qualified [sic] under the Constitution and laws of Texas who subscribe the statutory pledge provided in Article 3110 Revised Civil Statutes of Texas, and none other, be allowed to participate in the primary election on August 25, 1928, and further that the Chairman and Secretary of the State Democratic Executive Committee be directed to forward to each Democratic County Chairman in Texas, a copy of this resolution for observance.[29]

In 1927, soon after Governor Moody signed a law giving the Democratic State Executive Committee the authority to determine who would be members of the Democratic party, Black leaders were again more determined to fight it out in the court. They charged the state with trying to turn its responsibilities over to others, and with being, therefore, a party to any violations of the constitution. Moreover, the Bourbons argued that the party in barring all but white Democrats from the state primaries did not constitute action of the state of Texas itself, because the party performed no state function.

The Democratic executive committee, by a vote of fourteen to thirteen, decided to continue the bar against Black participation in the primary.[30] Acting on recommendations from the committee, the state convention adopted the following resolution on the grounds that it had an inherent right to determine its membership and that this was party action: "Be it resolved, that all white citizens of the state, who are qualified to vote under the constitution and laws of Texas shall be eligible for membership in the party and as such eligible for participation in the primaries."[31]

The reaction of blacks was to continue to seek redress in the courts. Since Democratic leaders, though closely divided, were determined to keep them out of the primaries, it was now up to Negroes themselves to win their constitutional rights.

Nixon again presented himself at the polls and was refused a ballot to vote in a Democratic primary. He sued in Federal District Court for damages for the denial of his right to vote. In 1929, he brought suit against the election judges of the Democratic party at El Paso. Nixon's brief rested on the following arguments: (1) a vote at a primary election was a vote within the intent of the right to vote at any election; and (2) detailed regulations by the state transferred the Democratic party into an instrumentality of the state. He complained that the refusal of these officials to give him a ballot was a violation of his rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and that the action of the Demcratic executive committee was state action, authorized by the legislature. The District Court ruled that the discrimination against Negroes was made by a voluntary association, not by the state action as in the 1923 statute.[32] Nixon, the Negro complainant, having lost his case in the District Court, appealed his case to the Circuit Court of Appeals where the District Court's decree was affirmed.[33] The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court.

Upon appeal, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decision by a five-to-four vote on May 2, 1932.[34] Nixon won his right to vote in the Texas Democratic primary election. Justice Benjamin Cardozo speaking for the Majority pointed out that the "State Executive Committee . . . is a . . . Committee and Nothing More," and it had no power except that conferred by the state. That being so, he said, the committee's power to exclude Negroes from the primary election was statutory. "If the state had not conferred it, there would hardly be any color or right to give basis for its exercise." In the statute under consideration represented state action and voting restriction was a denial of equal protection of the law. "The Fourteenth Amendment," Justice Cardozo explained, "adopted as it was with special solicitude for the equal protection of members of the Negro race, lays a duty upon the court to level by its judgement these barriers of color."[35]

Three weeks after the Supreme Court rendered its decision, the state Democratic convention, making use of the advice given by the Supreme Court, adopted the following resolution, claiming that it had inherent right to determine its membership and that this was purely party action:

> Be it resolved, that all white citizens of the state, who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of Texas shall be eligible for membership in the party and as such eligible for participation in the primaries.[36]

After the Democratic state convention passed a resolution denying membership in the Democratic party to blacks, the Negroes began to prepare for round three in their fight to have the right to belong to the Democratic party and to vote in the primary. Blacks believed that the state executive committee and the state convention should be classified as representatives of the state, and when so classified their actions were limited by the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court had come to that conclusion in the **Condon** case.[37] Armed with the belief in the validity of their case, Negroes dug in for the long struggle ahead.[38]

New Deal Years

On May 24, 1932, three weeks after the Supreme Court had decided **Nixon** v. **Condon,** the Texas Democratic party in a state convention passed a resolution limiting membership in the Democratic party and participation in its primaries to whites.[39] The convention solemnly resolved "that all white citizens of the state of Texas who are qualified to vote under the constitution and the laws of the state shall be eligible to membership in the Democratic party and as such entitled to participate in its deliberations." The phrase "participate in its deliberations" plainly meant voting in the party primary.[40]

Negroes immediately attacked the constitutionality of this action, and between May 26, 1932, and April 1, 1935, there was a contest over the white-primary issue in the state and federal courts in Texas. There were four cases,[41] two of them decided in the United States district courts and one in the state appellate court, with conflicting applications of the rule of the **Condon** case. The four cases represented an effort by blacks to prevent by mandamus and injunction the enforcement of the party resolution. In the first of these cases,[42] Julius White, a Negro, sought a writ of mandamus in the United States district court for the eastern district of Texas. He wanted an order to compel the Harris County Democratic Committee to instruct the election judge to allow him to vote in the forthcoming primary election.

William Grovey, a Negro, went to County Clerk Albert Townsend of Harris County, Texas, and demanded an absentee ballot for the Democratic primary election to be held on July 28, 1934. Townsend read the Democratic State Convention resolution and refused to give Grovey the ballot to which he was entitled, except for the fact that he was a Negro. Grovey retaliated by suing the clerk for ten dollars in the Justice of Peace court. He lost the case and then appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court.[43]

Grovey's brief pointed out in minute detail that Texas required a primary election, that state law had originally established the primary system, that party officials were required by state law to permit voting by all persons, except Negroes who were qualified as voters under state statutes, and that the only qualified voters who could be denied the right to vote in a primary election were Negroes.

The court handed down its decision on April 1, 1935.[44] Justice Owen J. Roberts spoke for a unanimous court when he read the decision. He spent no time on the applicability of the Fifteenth Amendment; the major premise of the defendant in error was that a political party was a private association, or organization; the sole concern was whether or not the actions of that private organization—the Democratic party of Texas—constituted state action within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. The answer was a resounding "no." The court held that a political party, any political party, in any or all of the states of the Union, having laws such as Texas primary statutes, could exclude Negroes from party membership and prohibit them from voting in a party primary election. Roberts observed,

> it was true that Texas had by its laws . . . provided for the expression of party preferences as to nominees, had required that preferences to be expressed in a certain form of voting and had attempted in minute detail to protect the suffrage of the members of the organization

> against fraud; it was equally true that the primary was a primary.

Justice Roberts concluded, "the state need have no concern" with party membership and was only concerned with the general election, "for the general election was a function of state government and [racial] discrimination by the state . . . was prohibited by the Federal Constitution." He found evidence for holding that County Clerk Townsend "had in obedience to the mandate of the law of Texas not discriminated against Grovey, or denied him any rights granted by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."[45]

The Court had therefore decided that Negroes could be deprived of an effective voice in the election of local and state officials and of the United States senators and representatives by the device of the white primary. State officials, acting under the mandate of the state party convention in respect to the eligibility to participate in the party's deliberations, were acting under the authority of the party, not the state.[46]

In spite of the severe blow, Texas Negroes did not give up. In reality, these were the darkest hours before the dawn of a new day. In 1941, in the case of the **United States** v. **Classic,**[47] the court started the destruction of the white primary. Total death came in 1944 in the case of **Smith** v. **Allwright**[48] with the matter of white primary at county level laid to rest in 1954 in the case of **Terry** v. **Adams.**[49] Black Texans' long fight for the right to vote in the Democratic primary was over, with Negroes being the winners.

III

With the abolition of slavery and the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, it became unconstitutional for government to discriminate against Negroes, or any other racial or religious groups. But in 1896 the Supreme Court, in **Plessy** v. **Ferguson,** endorsed the view that racial segregation did not constitute discrimination and that states by law could require the separation of races in public places as long as equal accommodations were provided for all. Under the separate-but-equal formula, Texans enforced segregation in places of public accommodation, transportation and education.[50] In 1889, the court found no denial of equal protection in the fact that a county provided a high school for white citizens, but none for the sixty Black students in the district.[51]

In Texas one fact did stand out, and that was education as far as Blacks were concerned was separate and unequal. There was never public pressure in favor of education for Blacks. In 1889-1890, school boards constructed 233 white schools and only 37 for Blacks.[52] Sixty-six percent of all Black public schools met in churches, farms and other rented buildings.[53] This was a reality in spite of the fact that Negroes accounted for thirty percent of the state's population.

In 1878, Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College was founded near Hempstead, under the control of the Texas A&M Board of Directors, the status which it still possesses.

Beginning in the 1930's, Negroes began to file lawsuits challenging the separate but equal doctrine as a sham. Negroes were aware of the fact that where there were separate schools, that there were gross inequalities in educational opportunities and facilities provided for Negro and white children. One author writes: "It is the exception rather than the rule for Negro schools in the South to be anywhere as efficient as those for whites. The inequalities are manifest to anyone who has a cursory knowledge of the present status of education in the South."[54] Studies of separate schools in Texas reveal that every aspect of the educative process are both inadequate and unequal when compared with that for whites.

At no time during the current century have Black Texans shared in educational opportunities on any basis that remotely approaches equality. Equality under the law as commanded by the Fourteenth Amendment not having been realized, therefore Negroes had to turn to the courts for redress of that wrong. In no institution was the philosophy of white supremacy more evident than in education.

Negro teachers during the years of 1909 through 1910 averaged $46 per month as compared with $62 for white teachers.[55]

As late as 1920 the legislature allocated only a small amount of money for black education. A major portion used to operate Black schools came from the Slater Fund, the General Education Board, The Jeans Foundation, and Rosenwald Fund.[56]

In the Southern region the educational system was built upon the concepts advocated by Booker T. Washington. There were no graduate schools for Negroes in any state. There generally was one school for blacks at the undergraduate level. The curriculum was weighted in the direction of agriculture and home economics.

The attempt was made by Negroes to obtain educational equality in 1935 when Donald Murray applied for admission to the law school of the University of Maryland.[57]

In Texas, no provision was made for Blacks to attend graduate and professional schools. In 1946, Heman Sweatt applied to The University of Texas for enrollment in The University of Texas Law School. He was denied[58] admission and he turned to the court as a petitioner, to compel his admission. The trial court postponed the trial for six months in order for the state to set up a law school. The school was to provide facilities substantially equal to those offered white Texans. In December, 1946, the court ruled against Sweatt, and based its ruling on the fact that the state had promised to provide a law school. Sweatt appealed his case and during the waiting period the state did set up a law school in the basement of a building, for two Blacks, away from the main campus. The petitioner did not register; instead he appealed his case to the appellate court. The appellate court affirmed the decision of the district court, and Sweatt appealed to the Supreme Court. The court gave its decision in 1950. Chief Justice Vinson spoke for the court and said: "Qualities incapable of measurement were available at the state university that were not available at the Negro school, such as tradition, prestige and reputation of the faculty."[59]

With the Sweatt case settled there were two cases initiated by Blacks to be admitted to Texarkana Jr. College in 1955. **Bruce** v. **Stilwell** and **Whitmore** v. **Stilwell** in which the plaintiffs were not admitted. In another case **Allan** v. **Masters,** involving Kilgore Junior College, the petitioner was admitted. Negroes brought suits in 1955 to enroll in Texas Western and North Texas State and were unsuccessful.

Two Negroes filed suits in district court for admission to Lamar Tech Jr. College in Beaumont and the court ordered them admitted in 1956.

After the Brown decision in 1954, the fight for equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment as it applied to equal education shifted from higher education to public school.[60] Texas, in the tradition of resistance to change, used every legal weapon available to it in order not to comply or to delay compliance as long as possible. At this writing, the school systems of Houston, Dallas, Ft. Worth, Austin, Corpus Christi, and Waco are under court order to integrate their schools and to operate single school systems.

IV

A fair trial is one that is not influenced by the pressure of mob spirit, jurors that are free of prejudice in regard to the accused, adequate counsel for the accused, and the lack of discrimination against members of the same race as the accused in regard to jury service.

Black Texans have believed all along that the due process clause as found in the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution[61] should be used at state level under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. When Blacks were tried in state courts many times the trial was a mere mockery where emotions, biases, and preconceived notions or race entered the picture to color the outcome of the trial instead of the evidence that was presented in court. Periodic attacks were made upon the Texas jury system by Blacks since the turn of the century. Up to 1930 these attacks had been largely unsuccessful, and they failed to destroy the practice of systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury service.

With the coming of the New Deal, Blacks had amassed more resources, and more leadership qualities had developed at the grass-root level. The question of Negroes on juries became one bitterly fought, and one of the frequent phases of the whole question of race relations in Texas. Negroes attacked with ardor the exclusion of Blacks from juries, and they also continued to see that the Fourteenth Amendment was enforced.[62]

Considerable attention has been given to the much litigated issue of the disregard of the constitutional rights of Black defendants in criminal case before Texas courts. There have been a number of decisions handed down on the issue of the denial of right of counsel, the exclusion of Negroes from jury duty service, and mob-dominated trials.

As early as 1900, the case of Seth Carter was before the court. Carter contended that he had been indicted by a grand jury where there were no Negroes. This the defendant contended was contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Horace Gray spoke for the court. He noted that in Galveston County in 1897 before the indictment was read to Carter his lawyers arose in court and asked that the indictment be quashed, because no Negroes were on the grand jury. Justice Gray found that the defendant had been denied a right duly set up and claimed by him under the laws of the Constitution of the United States. The ruling of the State Supreme Court was set aside.[63]

Another case alleging racial discrimination in jury selection was before the Supreme Court in 1906. In the case of **Martin** v. **Texas**[64] Martin, a black man, was convicted of murder in district court in Tarrant County. Neither the grand jury which indicted him nor the petit jury which tried him had black men on it. Martin alleged that the indictment should be quashed because no Blacks sat on the juries. Justice John M. Harlan, speaking for the court, found that Martin had not been denied due process because of the absence of Blacks from the juries. He found that in organizing the juries discrimination was not present because of race or ethnic origin.[65] The decision of the lower court was allowed to stand.

In 1940, the Supreme Court gave its decision in the case of **Smith** v. **Texas.** Smith was accused of rape in Titus County, and the case was removed to Harris County where the defendant was convicted. The accused appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court. In his brief he alleged that his constitutional rights had been violated because during the years 1931 to 1938 only five Blacks had been called to jury duty and of these five three served three times. Blacks constituted twenty percent of the county population. The Negroes' names had been placed sixteenth on the jury list and it was customary to select the first twelve names.

Justice Black spoke for the court, stating:

> For racial discrimination to result in the exclusion from jury service of otherwise qualified groups, not only violates our constitution and the laws enacted under it, but it is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government. . . . The fact that the written word of a state's laws holds out a promise that no discrimination be practiced is not enough. The Fourteenth Amendment required that equal protection to all must be given—not merely promised.[66]

In 1940, Thomas Hill of Dallas County was accused and convicted of rape. The defendant appealed his case and the Supreme Court by certiorari accepted the case. Hill argued that he had been convicted by a jury on which there were no Negroes. There were 8,000 Blacks in Dallas who were taxpaying citizens and no Negroes were ever called for jury duty. The defendant contended that there was systematic discrimination against Blacks in the selection of grand jurors, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Chief Justice Stone spoke for the court, saying, "The Jury Commission consciously omitted to place the names of Negroes on the jury list and in so doing they failed to perform their constitutional duty."[67] Justice Stone pointed out that the burden of proof to show lack of discrimination was upon the state. Here, the state court's judgement was reversed because the state failed to afford the petitioner that equal protection of the law which the Fourteenth Amendment commands.

There was always a question in the minds of Blacks as to what portion of the trial jury should be Negroes. When the Supreme Court decisions are analyzed, the trend seemed to be that the court would uphold the claim that some Blacks be on the juries but not an exact number.

In 1944, the court had before it the case of **Adkins** v. **Texas.**[68] The defendant was a Dallas County resident, and the composition of the jury was one-sixteenth black. Negroes constituted about twenty percent of Dallas population. Atkins contended that a trial jury with only one Black on it was a denial of his constitutional rights as outlined in the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Stanley Reed speaking for the court did not think so. He said, "Purposeful discrimination is not obtained by showing that on a single grand jury the number of members of one's race is less than the race's proportion of the eligible individuals." Justices Black and Murphy dissented; however, the majority held that there was no denial of constitutional rights when the grand jury had one Black member.

Ernest Thompson of Bexar County, age seventeen, was convicted of rape and given the death sentence. During the trial it was shown that more than 8,000 Negroes lived in Bexar County and that none had been called for grand jury duty. When denied a retrial in District Court Thompson appealed to the court of criminal appeals. This court reversed the judgement of the lower court, and remanded the case.[69]

Marcell v. **Thomas,** of Harris County, in 1906 was tried for murder and given the death sentence. The defendant appealed his case to the state court of criminal appeals. In the brief the accused asked that the indictment against him be quashed because there were no Negroes on the Jury Commission or on the grand jury that indicted him. The court noted that of 90,000 persons living in Harris County, 25,000 were Negroes, and that none had been called to jury duty for more than thirty years.

The court sustained the findings of the district court, and concluded that there was no racial discrimination in the jury makeup.[70] The same court in the case of **Smith** v. **Texas**[71] was considering a case from Grayson County. The accused Robert Smith was accused of murder and given the death sentence. Smith based his appeal upon the fact that the jury which convicted him had no Blacks on it and that his rights under the Fourteenth Amendment were violated. The court refused to quash the indictment and the conviction stood.[72]

In the same tradition, the court of criminal appeals in 1910 had before it the case of **Pollard** v. **State.**[73] Here, Albert Pollard was appealing his conviction for murder given by a district court in Erath County. The petitioner asked that the conviction be set aside because no Blacks were members of the petit or grand jury. The highest court in the state ignored the fact of jury composition, and affirmed the conviction of the lower court.

Coerced Confessions

The average layman had a belief that confessions secured by force and then used by the state to send men to prison and to the electric chair were unconstitutional. White and Black members of the bar must have known better than the layman that this revolting practice was carried on by the state, and yet few if any voices were raised against it. The constitution plainly prohibits trial by ordeal as a substitute for a jury. The writer finds it hard to conceive of methods more disgusting to the sense of justice than those taken to procure confessions from Blacks and to use such illegally obtained confessions to send Negroes to their death. Lawyers for the state were aware that to use confessions obtained from Blacks in the above manner was a clear-cut denial of due process.

One troublesome issue was whether convictions, based upon confessions secured through the use of coercive measures, violated the due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment:

Bob White was accused of raping a white woman. A confession was obtained from White by the use of force. The confession was used as evidence to convict White. The defendant appealed his case to the Supreme Court, and on May 27, 1940, Justice Hugo Black read the decision for the court. The per curiam decision was in the vein of **Chambers** v. **Florida.**[74] Texas contended that if White had not contested the use of the confession in state court he could not hold that the confession was a denial of due process before the Supreme Court. Justice Black said: "We must determine whether the record shows that . . . the confession was obtained and used in such a manner that the petitioner's trial fell short of that procedural due process guaranteed by the constitution."[75]

William Ward was indicted and convicted for murder. The confession was the primary evidence used to convict Ward.[76] The state contended that the confession was made voluntarily, but Ward claimed he signed the confession only after he had been seized without a warrant, burned, whipped, and questioned continuously for three days. This, he insisted, was a violation of his rights under the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The state appellate court contended that, under the state's criminal procedure, the question of admitting the confession in evidence was solely for the trial jury to decide. Justice James Byrnes speaking for the court thought that the question of state procedure should not stand in the way of the defendant's constitutional right. He said:

> Each state has the right to prescribe tests governing the admissibility of a confession. But when, as in the present case, the question is raised as to whether a defendant has been denied the due process of law guaranteed by the federal constitution, we cannot be precluded by the verdict of a jury from determining whether the circumstances under which the confession was made were such that its admission in evidence amounts to a denial of due process.[77]

The record showed that the arresting officer had acted outside the authority of the law, and had coerced and intimidated the petitioner. The facts presented in the case led Justice Byrnes to say: "We must conclude that this confession was not free and voluntary but was a product to coercion and duress, (and) that the petitioner was no longer able to freely admit or deny or refuse to answer." The use of a confession so obtained constituted a denial of due process of law, and the conviction could not stand.

Black Texans took a measure of satisfaction in knowing that at last a degree of federal protection for Negroes accused of crime had been won against the arbitrary action of state officers. Maltreatment of Black prisoners was brought within the scope of the limits of the Fourteenth Amendment, and as such was a violation of due process of law.

IV

In this century, urban forces have exerted a tremendous pull upon people who live in the rural areas. Blacks, in an effort to better their condition, have migrated from the county to the city. There are pressures upon Negroes to live in all-Black neighborhoods which have resulted in a concentration of Blacks in eight cities. Today, sixty-six percent of Black Texans live in Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth, San Antonio, Austin, Waco, Beaumont and Galveston.

Many blacks moved to the city to help solve some of their economic woes. They soon discovered that one serious problem was a shortage of housing, and that many white neighborhoods were hostile to their moving into the community. This evil helped to bring new difficulties and frustrations.

World War I, the roaring twenties, the infestation of the crops by boll weevils, the depression years of the 1930's, the mechanization of farm equipment, and World War II caused more rural Blacks in Texas to turn toward the cities within the state. Whites also moved to the urban centers and brought with them their rural habits, attitudes, and folkways. It was in this situation that the restrictive covenants began to appear in Texas, as in the rest of the nation.

Residential segregation in Texas towns was a result of custom. In 1916, the Dallas city council passed an ordinance restricting the places where Blacks could live, after a petition was presented to the city council by the White Deere Park Improvement League.[78] The ordinance provided for certain areas in the city where Negroes could live and certain areas where whites could live. It was passed under the state's police power, and it provided that anyone violating the ordinance would be subject to a fine of no less than five dollars and no more than two hundred dollars.[79]

Black leaders protested against the ordinance and turned to the court for relief. Negroes, in the brief presented in district court, argued that the ordinance violated their right to buy land and to live where they wanted to as provided for under the Fourteenth Amendment. The district court upheld the ordinance, and Blacks appealed the case to Texas Court of Civil Appeals. Justice B. F. Looney spoke for the court; he said: "We think this attempt to prevent the alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state, and is in direct violation of the Fourteenth Amendment." By orders of the court the ordinance was void, and Blacks were the victors.

The writer has been unable to find why Houston Negroes did not challenge in court the River Oaks Corporation restriction of its land to whites only. The reluctance on the part of Blacks to fight residential restrictions was usually out of fear of white violence, bombing of homes, and job harassment.

VI

As Black Texans searched for economic security they were confronted with the walls of segregation. Job discrimination is extant in every area of the country. It ranges in degree from rejection to more subtle forms of invidious distinctions. Most frequently it manifests itself through regulation to "traditional" positions and through discriminatory promotional practices. The maxim, "last hired, first fired," is applicable to many minority groups, but most particularly Negroes, as is evidenced by the greater unemployment rate for these groups.[80] Not only did the Congress take an interest in Black employment, but so did the state government and Negroes within Texas.

To seek redress for their economic wrongs, Negroes did not employ the Fourteenth Amendment but used presidential executive orders,[81] issued by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy, as well as President Johnson, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Governor's Office of Equal Employment. Jobs obtained in the above manner do not come under the guidelines for this study.

VII

In Texas, like other states of the region, segregation and discrimination raised their heads. Black Texans sought to obtain their fundamental right of equality of treatment in public transportation. Discrimination occurred in bus and rail transports. However, all the cases were disposed of in district courts. Here, the courts followed the doctrines laid down in the bus case of **Morgan** v. **Virginia,**[82] and the rail case of **Mitchell** v. **United States.**[83] In both cases, the court based its decision upon the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commerce Clause of the Constitution.

Since this topic deals primarily with the Fourteenth Amendment, discussion of cases are restricted to that Amendment.

VIII

Discrimination, in public accommodations, has had a devastating impact upon Negroes in Texas. At every turn Blacks were confronted with signs which read, "For White Only," "No Negroes Allowed." These signs appeared in department stores, sports arenas, bowling alleys, theaters, concert halls, restaurants, and skating rinks. White Texans take for granted the recreational, cultural, and entertainment offerings of their community. Black Texans could have sought redress of these wrongs through the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, or through the business affected with a public interest, the doctrine announced by the court in the case of **Munn** v. **Illinois,**[84] and **Nebbia** v. **New York.**[85] Neither of the two routes were chosen by Negroes. Instead, accommodation rights in public places were sought through the Public Accommodation Law of 1963.[86]

IX

Some leading scholars in the field of political science believe that our constitutional history is largely a commentary upon the Fourteenth Amendment.[87] This amendment has indeed been a bulwark of protection against inequality and discriminatory treatment of Negroes in Texas. Ninety percent of all litigation brought by Blacks in their struggle for first-class citizenship has been under the umbrella of the Fourteenth Amendment. In Texas, racism and white supremacy have permitted untrammeled growth of the white jury system. Blacks have been segregated in courtrooms, in public schools, sports, religious centers, and places of public accommodation. Until 1944, Negroes were not permitted to belong to the Democratic party or vote in the white primary.

All of the above discriminations were permitted by the court, and the court did not start to change until the late 1920s. By 1937, and in the midst of the Great Depression a new court came in, with Justice Hugo Black being the first member of this new court. Blacks had amassed a small amount of political power. Negroes had also developed a pool of educational and economic leaders, and to this resource was added a few liberal whites. It was then that Blacks began in earnest an assault upon the wall of discrimination. The most important weapon in the democratic arsenal was the Fourteenth Amendment. There were a few times the amendment was not employed in an effort to obtain first-class citizenship, such as in job opportunities, public accommodation, and integrated transportation. The amendment was relied upon heavily in jury service, procedural due process in trials, unequal education, and disfranchisement.

In the struggle for first-class citizenship there were many victories and some defeats, but today, as in the past, Black Texans possess an abiding faith in the value of the Fourteenth Amendment and all laws passed by Congress in the enforcement of the amendment.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Lawrence D. Rice, *The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900* (Baton Rouge, 1971), 113.

[2] Galveston *Daily News*, September 20-28, 1887.

[3] Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans, A History of Negroes in Texas 1528-1971* (Austin, 1973), 81.

[4] Rice, *The Negro in Texas*, 138.

[5] Many of the states of the Confederacy had adopted the poll tax as a requirement for voting by 1900. Virginia 1901, South Carolina 1895 and Louisiana 1898.

[6] Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class, and Party; A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politic in the South* (New York, 1932), 113.

[7] Rice, *The Negro in Texas*, 113; the local parties were first called conservative and subsequently, simply Democratic, which opposed black Republicanism; Thurgood Marshall, "The Rise and Collapse of the White Democratic Primary," *Journal of Negro Education*, XXVI (Summer, 1957), 249.

[8] V. O. Key, *Southern Politics, in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 619.

[9] *The Laws of Texas*, XI (1899), 770-71.

[10] *Vernon's Civil Statutes of the State of Texas*, Vol. 9, xxii.

[11] *Texas Election Laws with Annotations*, published by Attorney General's Department, 1928.

[12] Rice, *The Negro in Texas*, 82.

[13] Local factions within the Democratic party made a practice of calling upon and using Negro voters whenever it was to their advantage to do so. When one faction lost it blamed the Blacks who made up the balancing force. Dissatisfaction and grumbling came only from the faction which lost the local contest, never from the faction which won. This was true in the McAskill and Tobin squabble. Both men in the past had used Negro votes whenever they needed them.

[14] In order to get a clear understanding of the background of the state primary law, it is necessary to glance back over the years from 1918 to 1924 to see the rationale for the primary law.

[15] Key, *Southern Politics*, 621.

[16] *Acts 39th Legislature*, 2d Call Sess., 1923, 74.

[17] *Ibid.; Kay* v. *Schneider*, 218 S.W. 479 (1920), *Newberry* v. *United States*, 256 U.S. 234 (1921).

[18] Ralph J. Bunche, "The Political Status of the Negro" (1945), 111, 129. Unpublished memorandum prepared for the comprehensive survey of the Negro in America sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and deposited in the Schomburg Collection of New York Public Library; James E. Anderson, Richard W. Murray, and Edward L. Farley, *Texas Politics: An Introduction* (New York, 1971), 37; Lee Alilunas, "Legal Restrictions on the Negro in Politics," *Journal of Negro History*, XXV (April 1940), 168.

[19] *United States* v. *Harris*, 106 U.S. 629 (1883).

[20] *Newberry* v. *United States*, 256 U.S. 232 (1921).

[21] Walter White, *How Far the Promised Land* (New York, 1956), 67.

[22] *Nixon* v. *Herndon*, 273 U.S. 536 (1927); the district court case was not reported in the Federal Reporter.

[23] *Nixon* v. *Herndon*, 273 U.S. 540 (1927).

[24] *Nixon* v. *Herndon*, 273 U.S. 537 (1927).

[25] Max Lerner, *The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes* (Boston, 1943), 329.

[26] *Journal of the House of Representatives of Texas*, 40th Legis., 1st Call Sess., 1927, p. 207.

[27] *Ibid.*, 302.

[28] *Ibid.*, 769; Article 3107 (Rev. Stat. 1925), was declared null and void by the United States Supreme Court in 1927. The legislature of Texas re-enacted the article as 3107 but gave the state executive committee of a party the power to prescribe the qualifications of its members for voting or other participation. See *Smith* v. *Allwright*, found in Noel T. Dowling and Richard A. Edwards, *American Constitutional Law* (Brooklyn, 1954), 785.

[29] *Nixon* v. *Condon*, 286 U.S. 73, 90; 52 Sup. Ct. 484 (1932).

[30] Monroe Work, *The Negro Yearbook*, 1930-1931, 102.

[31] As quoted in *White* v. *Harris* County Executive Committee, 60 Fed. (2nd) 973 (S.D. Tex. 1932).

[32] *Nixon* v. *Condon*, 34 Fed. (2nd) 464 (W.D. Tex. 1929).

[33] 49 Fed. (2nd) 1012 (1931).

[34] *Nixon* v. *Condon*, 286 U.S. 73 (1932).

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] As quoted in *White* v. *Harris County Executive Committee*, 60 Fed. (2nd) 973 (S.D. Tex. 1932).

[37] *Nixon* v. *Condon*, 286 U.S. 73 (1932).

[38] The outcome of their efforts will be discussed in the next chapter.

[39] Bernard H. Nelson, "The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro" (Doctoral Dissertation Catholic University, 1946), 91.

[40] As quoted in *Nixon* v. *Condon*, 286 U.S. 73 (1932).

[41] *White* v. *County Democratic Committee of Harris County*, 60 Fed. (2d) 973 (1932); *County Democratic Committee in Bexar County* v. *Booker*, 53 S.W. (2d) 123 (1932); *Drake* v. Executive Committee of the *Democratic Party of Houston*, 2 Fed. supp. 486; *Bell* v. *Hill*, 74 S.W. (2d) 113 (1934).

[42] John B. Chamberlin, "The Validity of Texas Legislation Limiting Voting at Primaries," XXVII, *Illinois Law Review* (May 1933), 688; Houston Post, May 4, 1932.

[43] Grovey lost the case and appealed direct to the Supreme Court. Speaking for the court Justice Roberts said granted certiorari. Under Texas law, the judgment, because of the small amount involved, was not reviewable in any higher court of the state.

[44] *Grovey* v. *Townsend*, 295 U.S. 48 (1935); Banks, *Movement for First-Class Citizenship*, 316, Miller, *The Petitioners*, 226; A. H. Kelly and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution, Its Origins and Development* (New York 1963), 946.

[45] Loren Miller, *The Petitioners* (Cleveland 1966), 230.

[46] Nelson, *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro*, 95.

[47] 313 U.S. 316 (1941).

[48] 329 U.S. 649 (1944).

[49] 345 U.S. 461 (1953).

[50] James M. Burns and J. W. Peltason, *Government by the People*, 7th Edition (New York 1969), 150.

[51] *Cummings* v. *Board of Education*, 175 U.S. 528 (1899); Lois B. Moreland, *White Racism and the Law* (Columbus, Ohio, 1970), 24.

[52] Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas, 1528-1971*, 99.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Charles S. Mangum, *The Legal Status of Negroes* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1940), 27.

[55] Barr, *Black Texans*, 156.

[56] Douglas Barnes Taylor, "Negro Education in Texas" (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1927), 21.

[57] Jo Ann Pankratz Stiles, "The Changing Economic and Educational States of Texas Negroes, 1940-1960" (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1966), 81.

[58] *Ibid.*, 82. Loren, Miller, *The Petitioners*, 388.

[59] *Sweatt* v. *Painter*, 339 U.S. 629; Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 35.

[60] *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347, U.S.

[61] Benard Nelson, *The Fourteenth Amendment*, 135.

[62] Alfred J. Cidella and Irwin J. Kaplan, "Discrimination against Negroes in Jury Service," 29 Illinois Law Review 506.

[63] *Carter* v. *Texas*, 177 U.S. 449 (1900).

[64] 200 U.S. 321 (1906).

[65] *Martin* v. *Texas*, 200 U.S. 321 (1906).

[66] 311 U.S. 134 (1940).

[67] 316 U.S. 404 (1942).

[68] 325 U.S. (1942).

[69] *Thompson* v. *State*, 74 S.W. 914 (1903).

[70] *Thomas* v. *Texas*, 95 S.W. 1077 (1906).

[71] 695 W. 151 (1902).

[72] *Ibid.*, 151.

[73] 125 S.W. 390 (1910).

[74] *Chambers* v. *Florida*, 309 U.S. 227 (1940).

[75] *White* v. *Texas*, 309 U.S. 241 (1940); the case was recommended to the courts in Texas for retrial.

[76] *Ward* v. *Texas*, 316 U.S. 547 (1942).

[77] *Ibid.*, 550.

[78] Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans* (Austin, 1973), 140.

[79] *Liberty Annex Corporation* v. *City of Dallas*, 289 S.W. 1068 (1927).

[80] House Committee on Education and Labor, H.R. Rep. No. 718, 89 1st Sess. 2-3 (1965).

[81] Fair Employment Practice Committee, Final Report, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1947; Carolyn Cott Webber, "The Negro in the Texas Industrial Labor Market" (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1948), 102.

[82] 328 U.S. 373 (1946); Nelson, *The Negro and the Fourteenth Amendment.*

[83] 313 U.S. 97 (1941); Emerson, Haber, and Dorson, *Political and Civil Rights in the United States* Vol. II (Boston, 1967), 2161.

[84] 94 U.S. 113 (1877).

[85] 291 U.S. 502 (1934).

[86] Burns and Peltason, *Government by the People* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), 167.

[87] William P. Guthrie, *The Fourteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States* (Boston, 1898), 3.

SLAVE GUNSMITHS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

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Objectives

The general objective of this study is to examine social and economic mobility of slaves in South Carolina. Since one of the ways in which such mobility has traditionally been achieved is through advanced skills, I have examined the careers of slaves who held one particular skill—that of making guns—to see what level of mobility they could reach. I chose gunsmithing because it represents a skill of the highest order, because it represents a skill which frequently conferred a degree of social status, because of the ideological overtones of possession of firearms, and because enough background scholarship has been done to make it possible to identify slave gunsmiths in South Carolina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This choice has proved to to be a good one for the same reasons. If any skill could provide social and economic mobility, this one could. As I will demonstrate in the body of this article, some slave gunsmiths rose very high in the world by their trade, while others did not.

Definition of Terms

Definitions are important in this paper. The term "Slave" is well enough known, but when a slave secures his own manumission and thus ceases to be a slave in the strictest legal sense, he is no longer to be considered under the terms of this article. For the same reason, this study ends in 1865, because after that year slavery itself ceased to exist.

The term "Gunsmith" demands a little more attention. As used in this study, a gunsmith is a craftsman who makes guns by himself from the raw materials to the finished product, and who works for the open market, i.e. who does not depend entirely on military contracts. This definition is significant because much of the production of firearms in South Carolina during the period falls into the category of military weapons and was carried out in two arsenals and a private factory, all of which employed slaves. Slaves so employed will be defined here as armorers rather than as gunsmiths since the skills involved were likely to be more limited due to the division of labor. For example, an armorer employed in a factory or arsenal might be very good at one factor of gunsmithing (such as stocking, locksmithing, barrel making, or finishing) but have no skill in the other aspects of gunsmithing. More important still, an armorer would have to work by pattern and therefore would be unlikely to have, and unable to demonstrate talent in design.

The term "South Carolina" must also be defined because the frontier years frequently saw extensive geographic mobility. This study is to focus on only those events which actually happened inside the state. In cases where a gunsmith moved elsewhere, his activities outside South Carolina will not be covered even though they may be consistent with the experiences of similar gunsmiths inside the state.

Other definitions which seem necessary are included in the text of this paper for greater continuity and clarity.

Delimitations

This paper does not pretend to answer all questions about slaves' social and economic mobility. It is limited by the definitions above to a certain time—1774-1865—and to a certain trade —full production independent gun making—and to one state. I believe that the conclusions drawn from this limited study have wider application, but I can make no wider claims because of those limits. It is to be hoped that additional research will be done to shed more light on the degree to which slaves could control their own lives.

Procedure and Methodology

My procedure has followed a three point system. First, I have sought to identify slave gunsmiths in South Carolina. Second, I have pursued all the information which I could find on those identified in order to understand how each gained the skills necessary, how each engaged in his business, what degree of success each achieved, how that success affected his status as a slave, and finally whether that success had any effect on his children. And third, I have evaluated the brief biographies to try to determine if any pattern exists. Let me examine each of these three areas in a little more detail.

First there is the problem of identifying slave gunsmiths. It is easily possible to identify most of the gunsmiths who worked in South Carolina during the slave period because of the extensive and detailed scholarship which has already been done by others. Gunsmithing, indeed, has received an astonishing amount of attention, and lists of known gunsmiths are available together with some information. However when an attempt is made to isolate those gunsmiths who were slaves, the job becomes more difficult. I have identified 10, and I believe there were some others. From Gardner's list of gunsmiths with South Carolina residence, I have checked 140. Most were not slaves and so were not investigated further. A substantial number (21) could not be pinned down simply because not enough information remains in the form of historically viable evidence to determine whether they were slaves or not. However, 10 can be clearly defined as slaves (sometimes only briefly) and therefore those make up the heart of this study.

My second point, securing information about the individuals in question, also presented difficulties. Handcraftsmen did not generally leave many written records in the days before 1865, even such skilled craftsmen as gunsmiths. Even those records which were left—usually in the form of legal records—have tended to disappear over the years. Records are lost, buildings burn with their contents, and vermin and the weather destroy papers. In addition, Sherman's army swept through the state in 1865 burning archival materials as well as military goods. Some records have survived, however, and some peripheral material has proved helpful. The United States census, required by constitutional law every ten years, has been of enormous help since it lists occupations and property. Some public archives have survived, notably those of Charleston County and Dorchester County. And the University of South Carolina has saved many documents which were on the edge of ruin by assembling them in Columbia. The National Archives in Washington held a few relevant items, and the National Historical Site at Kings Mountain furnished more. Local histories were of some help, and local newspapers were a godsend since at least four of the gunsmiths advertised. Finally some of the guns themselves have survived, and since these were all signed they form historical evidence of the best kind.

Finally there is the question of patterns to be found in the lives of the identifiable slave gunsmiths. If no pattern exists, this research must be deemed a failure. However a pattern does exist. It involves a series of qualities which each gunsmith had (or achieved) which were not common to slaves in general. These include a relatively high degree of prosperity, literacy, a high expectation of freedom (sometimes achieved sometimes not), and the respect of contemporaries. Implicit in this pattern are the qualities which have generally resulted in unusual success: ambition, effort, talent, and luck. The pattern might best be expressed this way. A few individuals with natural talent made extraordinary effort and secured the training and skill necessary to make guns. These men then used their skill to make money and raise their status. Prosperity and higher status were achieved in spite of laws and customs designed to prevent slaves from changing their status. The ways in which the higher status was used varied according to the circumstances of the time, place, and individual. Some used their skills to buy their own manumission and that of their wives. Others used it to raise a large family. Still others used it simply to increase their living standards. One used it to engage in alcoholism.

It is clear then, that slave gunsmiths constituted an elite among South Carolina slaves. They were not an elite by birth or gift, but they made themselves an elite by diligent effort and good management in spite of an unfavorable environment. Ambient circumstances which prevented most slaves from improving their condition (restrictive laws and customs, generally) probably retarded the success of the slave gunsmiths to some degree, but they were able to succeed in spite of everything. From the above, it is also clear that the restrictions on slaves in South Carolina were not so absolute as would be imagined by historians who merely read the laws of the state.

Significance of the Project

A great deal of historical research has been done on the general topic of slave occupations. A smaller amount (though still considerable) has been done on industrial occupations such as gunsmithing. The overall message of such research has been that slavery was not nearly so one dimensional as the traditional picture had always held. Rare is the historian today who would accept Ulrich Phillips's view of the institution of slavery as being a timeless benevolent agricultural way of life exclusively.

But revisionism is far from complete. Very few works of history deal with slavery as a mobile form of social organization. Clearly it was mobile for those slaves who had the combination of qualities that were required for gunsmithing. By extrapolation it seems likely that it was mobile for some other trades as well. Hopefully, this article will increase general understanding of the complexities of slavery and stimulate further research in the area.

Related Literature

There is no other literature on the topic of slave gunsmiths in South Carolina. Indeed, there is only the most fleeting mention of slaves being employed as gunsmiths in any state. There is a considerable body of literature which can be described as "Related' however, and it demands some mention in this paper.

In the first place, historians have evaluated slavery in one form or another for centuries. Historical views of slavery fall into any number of categories, but for the purposes of this paper three are important. These are the apologists, the abolitionists, and the revisionists. The apologists have traditionally been those who perceived the institution of slavery as benevolent, or at worst as a necessary evil. This group is frequently referred to as the Phillips School of Thought, deriving the name from Ulrich Phillips (see the bibliography at the end of this paper). These historians have seen slavery as not very severe or injurious to the slaves—indeed some have seen it as beneficial as a civilizing and Christianizing experience. The abolitionists have tended to take precisely the opposite view. These historians, along with journalists and other kinds of social commentators, have seen slavery as essentially demeaning, damaging, and wicked, not to mention contradictory to the general American notions of equality and dignity of people. A bland version of this view is what appears in most survey textbooks of history, and it has accordingly become the basic view of most people in the United States today. The revisionists hold the view that slavery was far more complex than the abolitionists say, and that its effects have been more far reaching than the apologists are inclined to admit. They tend to adjust their views to satisfying the demands of modern ideology rather than to factual evaluations of how slavery really worked. Currently fashionable, the revisionists represent the views which probably will be watered down into the text books of the next decade.

This paper attempts to avoid all preconceptions. For that reason I do not identify it with any of the conventional views of slavery which have governed the literature in the past. Instead I have tried to hold it in the tradition of Leopold Von Ranke who held that history should not serve any end except the addition of pure knowledge. Just what happened, without any biases of any kind, is what I try to tell. I am not preaching any doctrine, but merely trying to state the truth as it happened.

From another and quite different source comes additional related literature. This source is the industrial historian who studies, among many other things, how products were produced in the past. The sub-family which concerns this paper is the body of literature on the production of firearms before 1865. Because of their importance in history, firearms have received an inordinate amount of attention from historians, and the trade of gunsmithing has been cataloged in detail. While a bibliography of titles on the subject would fill a volume, a few of the most recent and respected works are mentioned in the bibliography at the end of this paper. If and when published, this paper will be one more addition to the general field.

Results of the Research

The Skill of Gunsmithing

Gunsmithing, as practiced in the years prior to 1865, was one of the most demanding trades. It involved a high order of skill in several different media, notably ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, and wood. No one of these could be ignored or even slighted. Perhaps even more demanding than the technical skills was what would today be called industrial design, because the artisan had to be able to plan his own work from the raw materials to the finished product. There were no standard designs or blueprints to work from. Furthermore, in order to turn out a saleable product, the gunsmith had to be able to make his wares attractive to the eye.

Briefly, the process of gun making was as follows. The gunsmith bought the softest wrought iron available for the barrel. South Carolinians typically bought their iron from mines in Virginia, but it is well known that scrap iron or English iron was available as well. If bought from a mine, the iron came in the form of pigs that weighed three stone (about 42 pounds) each. If the smith were working from scrap, of course, there would be no standard weight. The iron was pounded out in a conventional blacksmithing forging process, alternately heating and hammering it, until it was formed into a bar roughly three feet long, five inches wide and one half inch thick. This bar was then formed on a specialized anvil called a "Buffalo" which had concave slots into which the bar was beaten to form it into a tube and the lap edges welded together by additional forging. This is the heart of the task, for if it were not done correctly, the gun would never shoot. This is also the reason for the use of soft wrought iron which has the property of welding solidly. To get the interior of the tube as true as possible, an interior model called a "mandrel" was sometimes inserted, then withdrawn after the welding operation. This left a rough tube around four feet long. If it were for a rifle, the walls of the tube would be thick, if for a fowling piece (a shotgun) it would be as thin as the skill of the gunsmith would permit. If it were for a rifle it would usually be filed to an octagon form on the outside, but fowling pieces and pistols were normally left round.[1]

The next step was finishing the interior of the barrel. This was polished smooth with a hand turned reamer and then, if for a rifle, it was cut with spiral grooves to impart a twist to the bullet. This was not done if the gun was intended for small shot. This process of cutting grooves, called "rifling," was done on a homemade machine and was a jealously guarded secret of most gunsmiths.[2]

The barrel, now complete, was ready to be built into a rifle. The next step would be to make or buy the lock. Before about 1825 this would almost certainly be a flintlock, after that year it would probably be a percussion lock. The gunsmith might buy an imported English or French lock, but he was just as likely to make his own. This involved an extraordinarily high degree of skill in forming, tempering, and assembling the lock with all its small parts and springs.[3]

Laying aside the barrel and lock, the gunsmith would then make a stock from some locally available wood. The ideal wood was maple, but walnut was more common among the South Carolina smiths.[4] The single piece of wood had to be formed very carefully to fulfill several functions. It must hold the metal parts together in their proper relationships, it must be convenient to handle, it must be strong, and it must look nice to the prospective buyer. It was at this point that the gunsmith had to be an artist as well as a machinist.[5]

Before the barrel and lock could be assembled to the stock, the other hardware had to be made and fitted. These parts were usually made of brass[6] and were cast and fitted with great care and an eye to appearance. They were butt plate, patch box (if one were fitted, this was frequently left off of southern rifles), trigger guard, escutcheons, and holding pins. Each piece had to be made from raw stock, since there was nowhere the gunsmith could buy them. Finally all the metal parts were inletted into the wooden stock and the stock stained to a pleasing finish.[7]

The general process outlined above would apply to any gunsmith whether in South Carolina or elsewhere, whether slave or free. The point is that the juxtaposition of these many skills of this high an order in a single individual was most unlikely unless he was trained systematically from boyhood up. Thus it is a trade which lent itself to an apprentice system, **but not to slavery.** Where did those slaves get their skill? This is one of the primary questions I want to answer.

The next step in the gunsmithing trade would be to sell the product. Many guns were made to order, so no sales mechanism was needed. But even custom products had a sales incentive because future sales would stem from others who saw a good product in the hands of a friend and then went to the same maker for a new gun. Other guns would be made up and kept in stock for sale to a customer who did not want to wait for a custom product.

During most of the period under consideration, South Carolina was at least partly a frontier state. Hunting was a major enterprise for many people either as sport or as a food supplement. In addition, it was fashionable to be armed for personal protection even in the urban areas of the state. Thus there was a constant demand for guns of several types. Rifles, of the type generally though wrongly called "Kentucky Rifles" today, were the most useful and constituted the bulk of the trade. Fowling pieces, usually single barrelled, were also fairly large sale items, and some pistols were made. More expensive guns (highly decorated presentation pieces, doublebarreled guns, dueling pistols) were most often imported from Europe.[8]

Most South Carolina gunsmiths were not slaves, but a significant minority were. One would imagine that slaves would be discouraged from owning guns, much less from making them. In fact, several laws on the books of the state forbade slaves from carrying guns and also forbade others from giving them guns. Why then were slaves allowed to make guns? This is a question that haunted this research from the beginning, and it is clear that such laws were not enforced at any time. In the twentieth century we are accustomed to thinking of gun ownership in ideological terms, and increasingly restrictive laws have been passed and enforced in our own time. Given these facts and the fact that some fear existed in South Carolina regarding slave uprisings, I expected to discover some sign of public mistrust of slave gunsmiths. Nothing of the kind emerged. On the contrary, in fact, some slaves who showed talent were employed as hunters and given guns. Still others were used to guard things of value and also given guns. Apparently, any expectation of suspicion of gun ownership is an insidious form of ethnocentrism—the application of twentieth century value standards to eighteenth and nineteenth century phenomenon.

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Examples of Slave Gunsmiths

The best example of slave gunsmithing in South Carolina is a three generation dynasty of the Dorchester family. Members of this family engaged in gunsmithing from 1774 to the end of slavery. In fact these dates may be too conservative, but represent the years which I can prove to be correct.

Abraham (no last name—a typical situation) was a slave of a merchant in Old Dorchester at least as early as 1774. At that time he was about thirty years old. The merchant, Charles Treadwell, ran a store (Old Dorchester was a trade center) and a wagon yard and he employed Abraham as a blacksmith to shoe horses in the wagon yard and to make hardware. Abraham could write. The earliest date at which I can establish a slave made South Carolina gun is a rifle made in 1774 by Abraham. It is still in existence[9] and is a thoroughly professional job. It does **not** look like a first effort, so I suspect (but can not prove) that Abraham had made many others earlier. It is signed:

. . . Abraham of Dorchester . . .

and I must conclude that at that date, Abraham (still with no last name) was already an established gunsmith. I feel sure that he expanded on his skill as a blacksmith to become a gunsmith, probably taking ten or more years to learn all the necessary skills. Several other rifles and one fowling piece are extant bearing the same signature and dated up to 1799 when Abraham died. They are conventional in design and beautifully made. Here this man was a master craftsman, and if he had lived in Pennsylvania he would probably already have been the subject of a monograph.[10] He remained a slave of Treadwell until his death, and presumably at least some of his earnings went to his owner. However at his death he left four horses and a shop full of gunsmithing tools to his son. This represents a much larger estate than most slaves would have left at the time.

The son was also named Abraham, but felt the need for a last name so signed his pieces;

*** Abraham Dorchester ***

evidently using the fact that his father's reputation, as expressed by the names Abraham and Dorchester, carried weight. Abraham Dorchester made guns of all types for nearly fifty years. His specialty was in flintlock rifles which were fairly heavily decorated with incised carving and brass inlays—expensive, high quality items. He also made some fowling pieces and advertised in the Charleston papers that he made pistols, too, though none seem to have survived.[11] His dates as an independent gunsmith are approximately 1790-1836.

The most significant facts about Abraham Dorchester, however, are the economic facts. Though legally a slave of Treadwell (and later of Treadwell's widow) he earned enough money to buy his own manumission in 1794, his wife's manumission in 1795, and to leave an estate consisting of three farms and two town houses to his five children in 1836. He was also literate enough to write some of his own legal documents, one of which was his will.[12]

I think all will agree that Abraham Dorchester was a financial success as well as a master gunsmith. But there are still some unanswered questions. When he bought his freedom, the price was "200 Spanish milled Dollars"[13]—far more than most slaves could have paid, but a low price for even an unskilled slave. A true value on one of his stature, skilled, well known, with high earning potential would have been two or three times as high even in 1794.

I don't know the answer, but I suspect that a long, close, trusting relationship existed between the family (father and son) and the Treadwell family, so that he was able to make a very favorable deal. Additional evidence for this interpretation comes from the fact that he named his most promising son Treadwell Dorchester.[14]

It is easy to see that Abraham Dorchester learned the gunsmithing trade from his father, Abraham of Dorchester, probably hanging around the shop from early boyhood. It is also easy to see how he was able to prosper so much because after his manumission, he could keep all his earnings for himself.

The third generation of the family also learned the trade at his father's shop and was a very skilled worker in his own right. Treadwell Dorchester opened a shop in Charleston, advertised in the newspaper, made more guns than either his father or grandfather (at least more have survived) and eventually moved with his family to Baltimore where he lived out his life. But that life does not concern this paper because Treadwell Dorchester was not a slave—he was born free and he remained free.[15]

Another slave gunsmith who is associated with the Charleston area (and the only other slave gunsmith active in the eighteenth century) was "Five Dot" John. He earned that sobriquet by his signature which consisted of two heavily indented dots and three lightly indented ones in a pattern so distinctive that it is easy to identify:

● ●

. . .

with the two top dots much heavier than the three on the lower line. He was not able to write. He was the slave of a ship candler named Hugh Gressette and originally worked as a blacksmith making tools and hardware for ships. The earliest gun attributable to John is anthologized as being "Mid 1790s."[16]

"Five Dot" John made mostly fowling pieces, but at least one rifle is still available. He also made a number of other ingenious things which fit under the general rubric of firearms. One of these, a burglar alarm which fired a pistol like device when a door was opened, was even patented—in Gressette's name—and advertised. He also made signalling guns, small cannon like affairs designed as noise-makers.[17]

John never bought his freedom and probably most of his earnings went to his owner. He did keep some of his earnings, however, and managed to be a significant contributor to charities[18] as well as raising a family of twelve children. He also contracted —in Gressette's name—to furnish certain parts to the Palmetto Arsenal, one early example of the defense budget fostering subcontractors.[19]

Still another coastal slave who seems to have been exploited by his owner was Esau of Beaufort, a slave of a merchant named Mirabeau DuMont. Like "Five Dot" John, Esau made mostly fowling pieces. His works are among the very best of the type— light, graceful, and handsome. They are frequently fitted with mounts of german silver rather than brass, which implies that they were quite expensive for the time. Esau also made high quality furniture and is remembered in local lore primarily as a furniture maker rather than as a gunsmith. His furniture, like his guns are now prized as antiques and bring prices which probably make Esau turn over in his grave. Esau was productive from about 1810 until his death in 1849. He does not seem to have had a wife or any recorded property, so DuMont probably took all his earnings. Such money as he kept may have gone for liquor since when he died his obituary said that the cause of death was "the accumulated effects of the demon rum."[20] That he was famous locally is attested by the fact that an obituary was published, not a common thing for a slave.

Greenville, South Carolina, is frequently thought of as the center of firearms manufacture in the state because of the Morse rifle factory located there in the 1850s and 1860s.[21] Long before Morse, however, there were gun makers in Greenville, two of whom were slaves. The first of these was Ned Putney, as colorful a character as ever graced the pages of history. Ned Putney would have been a fascinating figure in the annals of the frontier even if he had never made a gun. He was born in Port Royal in 1788 but turned up in Greenville at the time of the Census of 1800 as the slave of Jonathon Frawley, Esq., a horse trader. His mother, Catherine, is listed as a singer.[22] In 1806 Frawley was murdered and his slaves sold in an estate sale to Robert Janes, the man who had shot Frawley! Janes sent Ned (no last name at this point) into the mountains as an Indian trader on at least two occasions between 1806 and 1813, which implies that Ned was considered trustworthy with money when unsupervised. Ned was described as being "Incredibly tall, with a pig tail that hung to his waist."[23] In the meantime, Ned had picked up the skills of the gunsmith somewhere along the line and is listed in the Census of 1810 as a gunsmith and blacksmith. As far as anyone knows, he made only rifles, but that would have been the most useful tool for a frontiersman as Ned turned out to be. His rifles are not conventional in design, but are bigger and heavier than normal, perhaps consistent with his own "incredible" size. They are exotically decorated with patterns of holes drilled in the stock. At least one surviving example has remnants of hair glued brushlike in the holes on the off side. Ned was later known to be very proud of taking scalps of Indians whom he killed, could he have decorated his rifles with such trophies? Ned was tried for murder in Greenville in 1811, but was found innocent. He had a wife and at least one child at the time.[24] In spite of all three interruptions, he made a large number of rifles during the Greenville years. He could write and signed his guns in script;

Ned Putney of Greenville, S. C.

and he frequently added the year and the name of the buyer. A large number of his rifles have survived, I suspect because they were so large and heavy that they were not taken out in the woods too often. In 1813 Ned Putney (he was using the last name by this time) asked for permission to go to Tennessee to join the war against the Creeks. His owner, Janes, gave permission and published in the paper a notice that Ned Putney was not be be considered a runaway. From the wording of the notice it is clear that Janes thought Ned Putney was well enough known so that a description was not necessary.[25] He did join the Tennessee Militia and fought all the way through the campaign against the Creeks and against the British at New Orleans. He was personally commended by General (later president) Andrew Jackson. After the war Net Putney came back to Greenville where he made guns until 1820. He was freed, however, as a result of his war service, in 1814. In 1820 he moved to Louisiana where he made guns briefly before moving on to Missouri. In the catalogs of early American gunsmiths he is usually identified with Missouri rather than South Carolina.[26]

The other gunsmith who worked in Greenville was neither as productive nor as exciting a personality as Ned Putney. He was Robert, a slave of John Rockford until Rockford's death when his estate listed Robert as a maker of guns, tools, and traps. Only two examples of Robert's guns are known to survive. They are very plain, sturdy, utilitarian hunting rifles—the antithesis of the work of the extravagant Ned Putney. They are signed;

Robert . . . Greenvle

and the fact that he signed them with a name instead of a symbol (like "Five Dot") shows that he could write, though the spelling of Greenville shows that he could not spell very well. He either died or moved before the 1840 Census, since he is not mentioned in that year.

Allendale, South Carolina, also had a slave gunsmith. His name was Tom and he was the slave of several members of the Jennings family during a life that ran from 1800 until after Emancipation. Paul Jennings was the first owner, his widow Mia the second, their son Brooks the third, and grandson Brooks, Jr. the fourth. The Jennings family owned a farm (which they were pleased to call a Plantation) of 200 acres outside Allendale, but the Jennings family and slaves lived in town. Tom was a blacksmith on the farm, but by 1830 he was making and selling rifles in Allendale. Several of these survive and they are conventional in design with one exception. One specimen has a long "belled" barrel which is most unusual. A belled barrel is one which tapers from the breech to a point a few inches from the muzzle but then swells to a larger size. The bore remains the same size so the difference in exterior size is the result of careful planning on the outside. This in itself is very unusual and striking in appearance, and the extraordinary length (54 inches) is also very odd.[27] I have no explanation of this one piece, and it appears to be original.

One of the most successful of the slave gunsmiths of the state worked in Camden. This was Charles Jackson, born in 1799 who seems to have had a last name from the beginning. He was the slave of a small time merchant named Nate Crater who ran a series of stores which seemed to go bankrupt almost every year. Crater had four stores during the years 1810 and 1815. Then he opened a feed lot for cattle and a wagon yard for travelers where he employed Charles Jackson as a blacksmith. The earliest Jackson signed and dated rifle is marked;

Charles Jackson mkr, Camden, anno 1829

which tells us a lot about his literacy (high) and the year. He must have prospered and he must have kept and saved all his money because just five years later, in 1834, he bought his own manumission for the sum of "$550.00 in gold coin"[28] and before the next Census he had moved north out of slave territory to Urbana, Ohio. Evidently he knew just what he wanted and didn't waste time in achieving it.

The last gunsmith whom I can definitely identify as a slave was Anthony Quick of Jonesville. He began life as the slave of Peter Hutchinson, a lawyer and later a judge. The first Census in which he is given a name and occupation was 1830, when he was listed as 21 years old and called a cutler, a maker of knives. Between 1830 and 1840, he developed into a gunsmith, and he continued in the trade at least until 1855. He make mostly rifles of conventional type which were signed;

Anthony Quick, Mker, Jonesville

and it is not surprising that he could write when one considers that he lived in a very literate household. It can not be established whether he kept his earnings or turned them over to Hutchinson, but clearly Hutchinson was willing to go a long way in support of Anthony Quick. In 1855 the legal problems surrounding manumission had grown so complex and difficult that Hutchinson personally escorted Anthony Quick to the coast and on a voyage to Pennsylvania to assure that he was not trapped back into slavery. Anthony Quick, now free, continued making and repairing guns in Philadelphia at least until 1869.[29] This is one more example of a slave working his way out of slavery through the trade of gunsmithing.

There may very well have been other slave gunsmiths in South Carolina whom I have not been able to isolate. Since I make my home in the city of Orangeburg, I have been particularly interested in the possibility of a slave gunsmith associated with this area. One gunsmith did live and work in Orangeburg who may have been a slave, but evidence is very limited. His name was Britt (no last name available) and the use of only one name implies that Britt was a slave. But I cannot be sure. No one named Britt appears in any census, and the name itself may be either a first name (implying slave status) or a last name which would indicate freedom. So Britt remains a mystery.

So do several other gunsmiths about whom I can find no solid evidence. Since I am unwilling to speculate when no basis for such speculation exists, I must leave my list of slave gunsmiths where it now stands. It is possible—and I devoutly hope—that the gradual accumulation of facts will expose more slave gunsmiths to investigation and shed further light on the problem.

Summary

It was my hope from the beginning of this research that I could find some pattern in the lives of these men. From the foregoing material, a rather striking pattern emerges. In the first place, not a single one of the slaves I have examined came from an agricultural background. This in itself is most unusual since the vast majority of slaves in South Carolina were thus employed. It is true that some of the slaves did live on farms (or "plantations") but they worked at trades on the farms rather than at farming. A similar and related point of consistency is that most of the slaves under consideration were urban rather than rural. Of course, at least some of the reasons for these two points were accidental—the fact of being born into such circumstances and the fact of belonging to an owner who was in such an occupation. But some other facts probably had bearing, too. The fact that a slave in such a setting showed talent and energy would tend to keep him there rather than allow him to sink back into the drudgery of farm labor.

Another point of consistency was that most of the gunsmiths here considered had blacksmithing somewhere in their background. This had obvious utilitarian value in teaching the trade of working ferrous metals which is one of the basic skills in gunsmithing. I suspect that many blacksmiths were asked to repair broken parts on guns before they ever thought of making guns themselves.

Still a third point of statistical similarity was the existence of owners who were at least minimally supportive of the slave's efforts. In some cases this took the form of active cooperation, and in all cases it represented at least tolerance. This should not be considered as meaning that the owners acted out of humanitarian concern, though in some cases they evidently did, but there was an economic advantage in having a skillful and productive slave as opposed to an unskilled one. In some cases, the owner's favor was of a very high order and the slave in question was able to secure his freedom at least partly because of this. The examples of Abraham Dorchester, Ned Putney, Charles Jackson, and Anthony Quick come first to mind.

Still another unusually consistent part of the pattern was the high degree of literacy among slave gunsmiths. All but one could read and write at least a little. We must remember that during those days most slaves could not read or write at all. I feel that it is consistent with the energy and talent of these men that they had such a level of literacy.

And the final statistically important point is the high degree of manumission. Four of the ten slaves achieved their own freedom—a rate of 40%. Surely this must be one of the highest rates of any trade.

In summary, then, it can be said that if a slave had the background factors of urban residency, non-farm occupation, a favorable owner, training or experience in blacksmithing, and literacy he was on the springboard of success. If he added to those factors the qualities of talent, diligence, and luck he would become successful. And, once successful, he might use the success to secure his freedom.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Gluckman, Arcadi, *Gunsmithing in Early America*, Stackpole Books, Harrisburg, Pa. 1957, pp8-25.

[2] Cline, Walter, *Muzzle-Loading Rifles Then and Now*, Doubleday, New York, 1946, pp280-286.

[3] *Ibid*, pp261-264 and pp271-273.

[4] This is personal observation. Of the 80 South Carolina rifles I have examined, only one had a maple stock. 61 had walnut and the remainder had stocks of other woods.

[5] Smith, John Henry, *The Art of Gunsmithing*, Van Nostrand, Garden City, N. Y., 1969, pp160-181.

[6] Of the 80 South Carolina rifles, 79 had hardware of brass.

[7] Gluckman, *Gunsmithing in Early America*, pp92-94.

[8] Gardiner, Col. Edward, *Early American Gun Makers*, Macmillan, New York, 1970, p188.

[9] It is in the collection of Jenkins Blalock and is available for examination.

[10] It is interesting to note that most scholarship on early gunsmithing has centered in Pennsylvania, particularly Lancaster County. This is the area where the basic type of long rifle was first identified, and the generic term for such rifles is still "Pennsylvania Rifles."

[11] I have been able to locate only one South Carolina made pistol of the era which was made by a gunsmith and not by an arsenal. It was made by a non-slave gunsmith named Daniel Moore.

[12] Abraham Dorchester, Last Will and Testament, on file with the Dorchester County Collection, Archives, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Caroline, dated May 8, 1830 and filed under that date.

[13] Abraham Dorchester, Deed of Manumission, on file with the Charleston County Clerk of Court's Office, Charleston, South Carolina, dated Nov. 2, 1794 and filed under that date.

[14] United States Census Bureau, Census of the United States, 1810. See family listed under Charleston County, South Carolina, under name of Abraham Dorchester.

[15] The law was changed later, but in the 1790s any child born to a free Negro was considered to be free.

[16] Kauffman, Joseph, *The Kentucky Rifle,* The Antiquarian Society, Washington, D. C., 1971, p88.

[17] Charleston *Advertiser,* advertising cut p4, dated June 8, 1808.

[18] Charleston *Advertiser,* list of contributors p 1, dated Dec. 24, 1809.

[19] The parts listed in the contract were butt plate screws, trigger and lock plates, worms, and ramrods.

[20] Beufort *Democrat-Journal,* Beufort, South Carolina, Jan. 15, 1849, p 2.

[21] Brewster, Jacob, The Morse Rifle Company, *Ordnance; Journal of the American Ordnance Society,* Washington, D. C., July, 1958.

[22] United States Census Bureau, Census of the United States, 1800. See household listed under Greenville, South Carolina, listed under Johnathon Frawley.

[23] Friend, Llerena, *Early Missouri Pioneers,* Missouri Centennial Comm., Columbia, Mo., 1921, pp191-196.

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ECONOMICS OF POVERTY
A STUDY OF NORTH CAROLINA

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INTRODUCTION

The median family income in North Carolina was below the national average according to an analysis of the 1970 census. The state was above the national average in the percentage of persons 16 years and older in the labor force, but below the United States average in percentage of the population who completed four years or more of college and in the percentage of elementary children enrolled in private schools.

In 1969, the average median income of families in the United States was $9,580.00. In North Carolina the median income was $7,774.00, 19 percent of the population had incomes below the poverty level ($3,745 for a non-farm family of four headed by a male) while 11 percent had incomes of $15,000.00 or more.

This study is concerned with causes and symptoms of poverty in North Carolina. It provides a general rationale to tie together all of the specific characteristics related to poverty, and shows that differential incidence of some characteristics of poverty among North Carolina counties is correlated with the incidence of poverty. The study, also, develops a statistical model for poverty in North Carolina on the basis of poverty symptoms.

Wages, Physical Productivity and Profitability

Wages are set primarily by the demand for labor in a particular location. Assuming supply is relatively fixed, the demand depends upon the physical and mental productivity of the workers available and the profitability of the company doing the hiring.

Physical and mental productivity are functions of one's intrinsic physical and mental capabilities and one's maturity level or age. Each plays a role, and the distribution of these factors throughout a population helps determine their level of income. Besides the intrinsic nature of a person, physical and mental productivity vary according to the amount of education and experience a person has.

Unfortunately, intrinsic capability cannot be measured. Consequently, we are constrained to the use of an age proxy and an education proxy to measure the physical and mental productivity of the populations of the counties of North Carolina. Physical productivity will be approximated by the proportion of a county's population over 25 years old which has less than 5 years schooling, and the percentage of the population under 18 years of age.

In today's increasingly sophisticated society, high labor productivity, high profits and wages have become increasingly associated with industrial products. Therefore, it is suggested that two sets of data would approximate the profitability of the occupations located in various counties. One is the percentage of the rural population living on farms and the other is the percent of the county's population engaged in manufacturing.

Within agriculture, seasonality is also related to productivity, wages, and hence poverty. Seasonal jobs are more often the low productive and annual low wage jobs.

Finally if blacks are discriminated against in employment and education, the income of the blacks will be lower.

A better understanding of the poverty problem in North Carolina requires an analysis of the different variables mentioned above, which are related to the incidence of poverty.

The dependent variable, Y, is the percentage of population with income less than $3,745.00 per year in each county in North Carolina, 1970.

One would expect poverty is related to the following independent variables on a per county basis:

X_1 The percentage of adults 25 years and over with less than 5 years of schooling, 1970; is a measure of poverty.

X_2 The percentage of non-white population per county in North Carolina, 1970; a measure of discrimination either in the labor market or in prior education.

X_3 The percentage of rural farm population per county in North Carolina, 1970; a measure of job productivity.

X_4 The percentage of employed persons in manufacturing industries per county in North Carolina, 1970; a measure of job productivity.

X_5 The percentage of population under 18 years old per county in North Carolina, 1970; a measure of inherent productivity.

X_6 The percentage of persons working less than 40 weeks yearly per county in North Carolina, 1970; a measure of job productivity.

The data in the study comes from many sources. Primary sources are the United States 1970 Census, and Statistical Abstract of the United States 1970, and 1971. Other data, including data from 100 North Carolina counties, are obtained from the Department of Administration, North Carolina State Government, Raleigh.

Study Findings

The following is a discussion of the study findings. The discussion in this section centers on three points:

1—**Value added in production in North Carolina industries:** That is to examine the relationship between low-wages and the value added per hour of production work.

2—**The Statistical model:** The model is used to determine the exact relationship between the six independent variables, mentioned above, and the dependent variables.

3—**Factor analysis:** This is used to find out whether the variable under study measure the underlying forces which determine wage rate, incidence of poverty, physical productivity and value added.

Value Added in Production

North Carolina ranks fiftieth among the states in average hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries.

A hypothesis is developed that the typical North Carolina industries offer low wages because the value added per hour of production is low. This hypothesis attributes differences in wages to the laws of the economic market place rather than to variations in the social and economic philosophies of individual businessmen.

Simple regression analysis is used to determine the exact relationship between value added and wages for 190 major industries in the United States.[1] In the regression equation, Y equals the value added per production worker man-hour, an X equals wages per production worker man-hour.

The analysis shows a significant relationship between wages and value added and that the correlation coefficient is over 0.50, table 1. This would be expected since wages make up part of value added.

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[1] The data are derived from: *Industry Profiles, 1958-1967*. U. S. Department of Commerce—Business and Defense Service Administration.

Table 1.

Value for Regression Coefficient and Correlation Coefficient for Wages and Value-added Equation

Intercept A Value	Regression Coefficient B Value	Standard Error of B	Correlation Coefficient	Computed T Value	F Value
2.4624	4.1304	0.5151	.5048	8.0184	64.2948

The correlation coefficient is significant at .001 level.

Figure 1 presents an even more vivid demonstration of this relationship. All of the industries listed fall very close to the curve indicating the expected relationship between value added and wages. Hosiery, upholstered wood furniture, ice cream and frozen desserts, and tobacco all of which are industries characteristic of the North Carolina economy fall well below the mean for United States industries. Tobacco, as do alcoholic beverages, fall some what above the computed average for value added because of the effect of unusually high taxes on the finished product. In contrast, industries which are predominant in other areas of the country such as chemicals and allied products, steel pipe and tubes, internal combustion engines, and motor vehicles and parts, also follow the computed trend, but are well above the national mean in both value added and wages.

The highest productivity and highest wage industries constitute a small percentage of total North Carolina manufacturing industries.

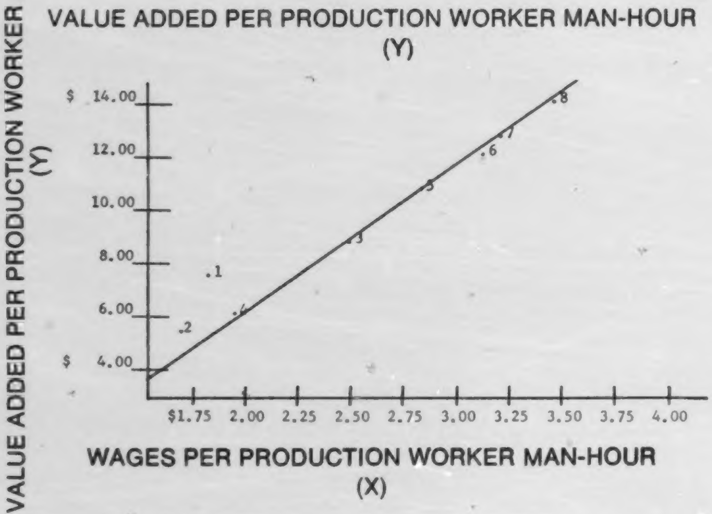
The Model

It is apparent that a high fraction of rural farm population and a high incidence of seasonal employment show the strongest linear relationship with poverty, table 2. These are both proxy measures for productivity, and together with the correlation between Y and the percentage of the labor force engaged in manufacturing show the expected pattern of wages varying with industry value-added. One, therefore, cannot reject the hypothesis that wages are positively related to value-added on the basis of this analysis.

With the exception of the percentage of the labor force engaged in manufacturing (X_4), all variables have been assumed to be positively correlated with poverty. Since this is the case, one would expect that X_4 would be negatively correlated with all the other variables. The percentage of employed persons in manufacturing industries, X_4, is not only negatively correlated with poverty but it is also negatively correlated with all the other variables in the study, table 2. The statistically significant entries in the table show that all the variables are related to one another and to poverty in a way which one would expect.

Figure 1

Relationship Between Wages Per Production Worker
And Value Added Per Production Worker



1- Tobacco
2- Hosiery
3- Ice Cream & Frozen Desserts
4- Wood Furniture, Upholstered
5- Chemicals & Allied Products
6- Steel Pipe & Tubing
7- Internal Combustion Engines
8- Motor Vehicles & Parts

$Y = -2.4624 + 4.1304X$

Several regression analyses of the data are used to find out the predictive power of the different independent variables, table 3. It is clear that all the variables explain 86 percent of the variation in Y, equation 8, table 3. However X_1 X_2, and X_5 can be dropped with the loss of only one percent of the predictive power. In terms of predictive power, then, the equation which maximizes prediction for the least number of variables is equation seven, that is, the best prediction of poverty in North Carolina counties are the measures of the industrial productivity in the counties. Those variables explain 85 percent of the variation in the percentage of persons below the poverty level.

The fact that the variables most clearly related to educational deficiencies (X_1 and X_2) can be eliminated from consideration with only one percent loss of predictive power does not lessen

Table 2

Intercorrelations of Poverty* and Other Related Variables in North Carolina**

	Y	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6
Y	1.00						
X_1	.68	1.00					
X_2	.42	.58	1.00				
X_3	.78	.64	.37	1.00			
X_4	—.62	—.27	—.49	—.42	1.00		
X_5	.60	.72	.78	.53	—.33	1.00	
X_6	.84	.58	.38	.58	—.64	.49	1.00

*Poverty as measured by percentage of families with income under $3745

**All correlation coefficients significant at the .01 level.

X_1 The percentage of adults 25 years and over with less than 5 years of schooling.

X_2 The percentage of non-white population.

X_3 The percentage of rural farm population.

X_4 The percentage of employed persons in manufacturing industries.

X_5 The percentage of population under 18 years old.

X_6 The percentage of persons working less than 40 weeks yearly.

Table 3
Regression Analysis

Run	Multiple Correlation Coefficients Squared	Intercept	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6
1	.49	—15.15	1.47 (4.90)				.85 (2.13)	
2	.49	—27.74	1.48 (4.95)	(—1.11)			1.23 (2.35)	
3	.66	18.26	.76 (3.02)	.04 (.72)	.51 (7.53)			
4	.67	30.50	1.56 (9.02)			—.47 (—7.83)		
5	.72	42.68			.54 (10.53)	—.36 (6.08)		
6	.77	—36.14					.90 (4.09)	.10 (12.53)
7	.85	6.46			.37 (8.70)	—1.08 (—2.08)		.90 (8.98)
8	.86	—15.91	.37 (1.95)	—.15 (—2.75)	.29 (6.02)	—.22 (—3.58)	.80 (2.80)	.70 (6.39)

Dependent variable Y equals percentage of families with income under $3,745 in each county in North Carolina, 1970.

the impact of education as a cause of poverty. The three strong variables: rural farm population X_3, seasonality X_6, and labor force in manufacturing X_4 can be related to education. To a considerable degree it is education that provides the skills necessary for manufacturing labor, it is lack of education that forces some individuals to remain on the farm and prevents them from obtaining full-time employment.

Factor Analysis

The question still remains whether or not the variables under study measure the underlying forces which determine wage rate, incidence of poverty, physical productivity and value added. Factor analysis is used to determine this relationship, table 4.

The analysis shows that the primary influences shown in table 4, are associated with two groups. The nature of the groups is shown by the relatively high-factor loadings, starred for convenience. The first factor can be described as relating to rural farm population, labor force in manufacturing and the seasonality of employment. All are proxy measures for the value-added associated with the occupations available in the various North Carolina counties.

It can be stated that X_3, X_4, and X_6 tend to explain the same variation in Y, since X_3, X_4, and X_6 vary as a group. Thus, one distinct influence on poverty which emerges from this analysis is value-added contribution to the analysis.

It is equally reasonable to argue that the second factor is

Table 4

Factor Matrix
(2 Factors)

Variables	Name	Factor Loadings	
		Factor 1	Factor 2
Y		.87276*	.38104
X_1	Literacy	.41966	.75837*
X_2	Non-white	.18779	.85564
X_3	Rural farm population	.69011	.41266
X_4	Labor force in manufacturing	—.77722*	—.13220
X_5	Youth	.26807	.90516*
X_6	Seasonality	.87143*	.26298

best described as inherent productivity as determined by age, literacy, and being non-white. These items are generally associated with inherent productivity, which includes educational opportunities. The analysis summarized confirms that X_1, X_2, and X_5 vary as a group.

Summary

1—North Carolina is a predominantly rural state, has a low per capita income, and the lowest average hourly earnings for industrial workers in the nation.

2—Value-added analysis shows a significant relationship between wages and value-added per industrial worker in various North Carolina counties. The correlation coefficient is more than 0.50.

3—The model shows that seasonal unemployment and rural farm population have a strong positive linear relationship with poverty.

4—The six independent variables explain 86 percent of the variation in poverty in North Carolina. Adults 25 years and over with less than 5 years schooling, non-white population, and population under 18 years old can be dropped from the model with a loss of only one percent of the predictive power.

5—Rural farm population, employed persons in manufacturing industries, and seasonal unemployment explain the same change in income as they vary as a group. All are proxy measures for the value-added associated with the occupations available in North Carolina counties.

Adults 25 years and over with less than 5 years of schooling, non-white population, and population under 18 years old vary as a group. These three factors are generally associated with inherent productivity.

6—A more favorable industrial mix, up grading the skills of the industrial workers, and increasing educational opportunities are some of the study findings to improve wages and income in North Carolina.

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ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF BLACK EDUCATION IN JACKSON, TENNESSEE

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The theory of education is a subject of many aspects, a field where the sociologist, the psychologist, and the economist can find much common ground of research. Economic analysis of education potentially can contribute a great deal to the understanding required for the formulation of an educational policy that will make the best use of human resources and contribute most to economic growth.

From sociological point of view, education is a force capable not only of transforming illiteracy into manpower but also of changing the structure of society. Education can influence various social conditions, such as traditionalism and extreme social inequalities inextricably associated with underdevelopment.

The effects of education may be reflected by an increase in the wage income of the recipient of education. Several attempts have been made to explain statistically the difference in wage income by the differences in the level of education. Here, the level of education is represented by the school days attended or the completed years of schooling. Many of the factors as native ability, achievement drive, social class origins, regional locations, and the occupation of the parents may have effects on the level of education and hence, of the wage income of an individual person.

Cost-benefit analysis is also a step where several economists did most of the work. They applied the method of cost benefit analysis to education by computing their capitalized values on the rate of returns associated with them. Each expected return contains some risk which may discount the present value of the return.

We applied the private internal rate of return to the high school and college education of the black community in the city of Jackson. The result of the study is based on the sample survey procedures along with the published data from 1970 census report.

The structure of my study is as follows:

Part 1 critically discusses the existing methodologies of investment in human capital.

Part 2 contains the nature and problems of the distribution of income with a little emphasis on the pattern of income between white and non white with respect to their education.

Part 3 includes the private rate of return of high education of the black community in the city of Jackson.

Part 4 rounds the entire study with some additional information covering a wider aspect of education.

The present volume is the outgrowth of research work for a little over seven months. During this period, a large number of people have helped me, more than could possibly be thanked individually. I must thank the Consortium On Research Training, whose grants helped to produce this study. Many of the ideas in this study have come out of discussions with Dr. Charles J. Stokes, Chairman, Division of Economics, University of Bridgeport, and without his stimulation I suspect it would never have been written. I must thank Mrs. Mabel J. Henderson, Chairperson, Division of Humanities, Lane College for her unstinted cooperation and constant encouragement to complete this study. I must also thank my research assistant, Mr. Cyril U. Duru who within his study hours load spent a considerable amount of time to collect the most important data from various sources. I also acknowledge my sincerest gratitude to Miss Angela Whitelaw who saved much time to type my paper within her usual duty work. Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Rita, for her sincerest cooperation in many respects without which it would have cost me many months of searching.

I

HUMAN CAPITAL: MODERN APPROACH

In the last fifteen years the analysis of investment in human capital has developed from the modest beginning into a major field of study responsible for a significant breakthrough in our understanding for economic behavior. Economic capabilities of people are predominantly a produced means of production and that except for some pure rent (in earnings) for differences in inherited abilities, most of the differences in earnings are a consequence of differences in amounts that have been invested in people. The application of capital theory to decisions on individ-

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ual improvement of earning capacity has proved a framework for an understanding of many observed behavior regarding education, wealth, occupational choice, mobility, etc., as rational investment for the purpose of joining future returns.

Like most of the other economic theories, the introduction to the capital concept of human beings is also subject to criticism by various authors. Some authors used the term human capital in a loose way to denote an idea, an analogy with physical capital —with there being no intention that it should actually be handled as physical capital in the national accounts and in all other aspects. The others whose number far exceeded the former, employed it like the physical capital in the belief that in answering to such questions as "how much" and "what kind" of education can all be resolved in this manner.

Investment is defined on the basis of two criteria—(1) investment expenditure is that which creates additional capital assets, (2) investment is that which is not consumed. The major trouble with this criterion when applied to man, is that it conflicts with the second—a conflict which does not arise in the case of physical capital. In fact, the first is the functional definition and the second is an accounting definition, and both amount to the same thing.

Now, if we stick to the first definition in the case of human capital also, an item of expenditure which satisfies a want and hence regarded as consumption, can be treated at the same time as investment. That is why, Schultz speaks of three classes of expenditures—those that satisfy consumer preferences, but do not increase the capabilities of human beings (pure consumption), those enhancing capabilities but not satisfying consumer preferences (pure investment) and those that have both the effects (pure consumption and pure investment).[1]

Schultz then says that majority of relevant expenditures fell in the third category, and that it is a formidable task to isolate investment component from those expenditures. But the question of isolating it arises only when a part of expenditure is undertaken to increase productivity and a part is spent to satisfy a want, both expenditures almost on the same item.

Consideration behind investment and consumption are different. Investment is undertaken after considering alternative channels with a view to obtaining best possible returns (in the short or long run, as the case may be), and investment can be justified only on this ground. Expenditures on consumption, even if they increase productivity, require no such justification. While Shaffer raised this point,[2] Schultz replied that peoples' judgment with regard to such expenditures is not so monolithic and that economic returns from these should not be the exclusive basis.[3] But this is off the point and does not deny that consideration behind the two activities are different; it is also no argument to identify consumption with investment, whatever its productivity. Besides, investment means that a cost is incurred. When expenditure is meant to satisfy a want, the cost is to be charged against consumption. An increase in productivity, if it occurs here, is at no extra cost.

The way out is to define investment in human capital as comprising of those outlays which directly contribute to an increase in human productivity (or earning power) or are intended to build up human assets from an additional stream of income as expected in the future as a direct result of outlay made. Some explanations of this definition may be given: (1) There should be an outlay (or cost) when there is an investment. A capital asset especially a human asset can be found even when there is no investment or cost incurred to create it.[4] (2) This outlay is directly related to the capital asset which is formed. This word 'direct' means that it is not enough satisfaction of a consumer want.[5]

Education may be current consumption where the satisfactions obtained are the pleasures of absorbing new ideas and associating with people of similar interests. Or the expenditures may be more comparable to durable consumer goods purchases involving increasing satisfactions throughout one's life due to refinement of tastes in literature and arts, broadened interests and so on. As an investment, education yields to its owners a series of returns over future yields and has a direct impact on the methods and efficiency of production.[6] But for any one individual we cannot separate the production and consumption aspects of education acquired by him.

> A man is a man where he works with a spade or machine, he is also a citizen, a member of a family, a little bit of an entrepreneur, and so on. The education he acquires in, and for any one role for which he functions is also applied to some degree to every other role. Put another way—the economic role of education in the preparation of skills for use in production cannot be fully separated from the consumption features.[7]

Bowen compares it with a joint cost problem where from the same inputs, two different end products are the result—occupational preparation and pleasures.[8]

The problem of separating consumption from investment components of education arises not only with respect to individuals in or planning on entering the work force but also with respect to those not in labor force such as housewives and mothers. There remains the same old question of whether the national accounts should be revamped to include imputations for housewife's duties, and whether the services of better-educated housewives (such as in the pre-school training of children) are worth more than the services of those with little education. This problem seems to present an impasse. However, it is frequently overlooked[9] that essentially the same problems arise, although to lesser extent, with respect to business and government "investment opportunities."

Some types of training which may be called on-the-job training are obtained in productive activity for which he is employed. The individual has to work in order to learn. Now, should we regard the expenditure on salaries paid in the probation period as investment in human capital (that is, in the person receiving it) or is it only a price paid for work turned out (that is wage)?. It is difficult to decide this issue **a priori.** If the work turned out during the period has any value to the employer and the salary paid is equal to it, then it is certainly a wage. But, if the salary is greater than this, then to that extent, it would be a part of the training cost borne by the employer and is an investment in the recipient. If the salary is less than the value of his marginal product, then the difference would be a cost borne by the employer himself and is an investment in himself.[10]

Where training gives specific skills, the costs may be borne by the employer, and the returns may be gained by him also. Becker argues that this is unlikely to happen in practice, however.[11] First, it is alleged, most training is not entirely specific to a firm or industry.[12] Second, unless the worker is rewarded with some of the returns to training, his wage will be equal to his marginal product (and hence potentially wage) in other firms and industries. This may (depending on circumstances) lead to high labor turnover, and extra payment to workers may thus pay the firm in the long run by reducing labor turnover, and the need for extra training expenditure. Therefore, it seems likely that many forms of specific training, both costs and returns, will be shared by firms and workers, even though there is a perfect competition.

In estimating the capital value of education, there are these methods which have been used in recent years:

(i) **By years of schooling:** Measuring the level of production skills in a country in terms of aggregate years of schooling which the population or the labor force possesses is undoubtedly the simplest approach that can be employed. In its crudest form of total years of education in the economy, it does not distinguish between the levels of schooling and has little more meaning than would a numerical inventory of machines with no regard as to the size and value. A more refined technique involves use of average level of education of the work force or various occupational groups. Quality differences can then be pointed out in terms of years of schooling involved in occupations and comparisons made among different regions and races in the same country and among the countries. Vaizey advocates this method because of its simplicity and he feels it provides useful information more than any complicated approach.[13]

However, he overlooks that one cannot compare different levels of schooling in this manner; two people each with grade eight education do not equal one person with a university degree (even though in Russia, this type of education appears to be quite applicable).[14] Such a comparison involves unlike units and is unjustifiable.

Looking at a total economy, private rates of return to schooling and other investments will tend to be discrepant if there are artificial barriers to continuation in school, especially, restrictions on entry to particular kinds of study and inadequate capital markets for the financing of the individual's investments in themselves. Significant discrepancies can also arise because of widespread ignorance to earning potentials.[15]

(ii) **A logical alternative is to weigh school years by their costs, either initial production costs or replacement values.** That is to say, schooling obtained in the past year may be measured by the value of the resources utilized in that year, or by the value of the resources that would be required to replace it at present. Which method is employed will depend upon the purpose for which the results are going to be used and upon the availability of data.

There is general agreement that regular expenditures for food, clothing, shelter and recreation should be excluded since they have to be borne in any way whether schooling is provided or not.[16] However, it makes sense to allow for additional travel expenses, books and extra clothing, as Schultz, Lee Hansen and Mclup all have done in their work.[17]

(iii) Two questions are raised in regard to the inclusion of opportunity cost (a) Should the opportunity cost as measured by foregone earnings be included in the cost of education? (b) If they are to be included, how to estimate the foregoing earnings?

For a complete picture of the cost of education, inclusion of foregone earnings of students while in school seems to be justified. A student does not work for pay while in school, but may do so after or before school or during vacation. His earnings are usually less than if he were not in school since he cannot work as much or less as regularly. The differences between what could have been and is earned is an indirect cost of schooling. In the case of workers receiving on the job training, even all costs may appear as foregone earnings.[18]

The wide prevalence of juvenile employment, essentially in poor countries, will mean considerable foregone earnings which must be reckoned with in attempting to establish a comprehensive program of elementary and secondary education.[19] For them, most of the real costs of secondary and high education may turn out to be a consequence of the earnings that the students sacrifice while attending the school.

Estimation of foregone earnings poses serious problems. Can they be estimated by the observed earnings of people of a comparable age and sex who were not in school? What would be the effect on earnings (actually on the value of marginal productivity) of a large influx to the labor market such as would occur, if all high school or college students entered the labor force? Again, the former question raised the issue whether those in school are not, in general, more able and ambitious so that their opportunity cost of schooling exceeds the earnings by their drop-out counterparts. The latter question, for some, is beside the point as students involving cost and benefits are not directed to the question whether there should or should not be education. Rather the issue is the profitability or productivity of reasonable small increase or decrease of education.[20] This line of thinking seems to overlook the significance of cost-benefit calculus as a criterion of investment expenditures on education. Prospects of employment opportunities are a powerful influence on the decisions to invest in some kind of education or the other and the incentive to become more efficient would be directly related to the market size. In a country where the number of jobs for the population is simply inadequate or where many people are in occupations in which their productivity is very low or zero, the expenditure decisions must take cognizance of this state of affairs.

As Schultz suggests, the cost of earnings foregone may be the one reason why many people from the low income groups do not continue their studies even when the tuition is free, or why children in low-income countries or low-income families drop out of school in early years. It follows that university or school fellowships may have to be sufficient to cover such opportunity costs as well as tuition and books.[21]

It is interesting to note that Vaizey at one point in his book flatly rejects the concept of earnings foregone on the ground that to make provisions on them when competing education costs ". . . opens to the gate of flood of approximates which would take the concept of national income away from the origins as an estimate of the measurable flows of the economy."[22] Further, he says,

> There is also a problem of finding pupils in poor countries. The pupils who most likely to benefit most from education are those who are most likely to earn a wage to help their families, or to play an important part on the family farm . . . so that any policy on extending education is almost certain to entail a policy of family support.[23]

It thus appears that even Vaizey, probably the strongest opponent of the earnings foregone concept, is forced to recognize its validity in some cases.[24]

One difficulty regarding the use of earnings foregone is that the concept does not express the full lost to the society of persons remaining out of labor force. Also, to be considered as Eckaus has indicated is the possible increase in the national income that might have resulted if individuals had been earning income and investing a portion of it.[25] However, when computing replacement cost of education at a given point of time, this factor is of less importance.

An approach to earning foregone figures somewhat different from any discussed above was used by Peter Wiles in his estimates of the cost of education in the United Kingdom.[26] As the opportunity cost of keeping students out of the labor force, he estimated the maintenance charge. As noted earlier, normal costs of living should not be considered as additional costs; however, the idea of using them as a substitute for other estimates of earning foregone, may not be altogether without merit if no better figures are available. Schultz's rejection of this approach appears to miss this point.[27]

Mary Jean Bowman suggests some of the following discussions of opportunity costs.[28] First of all, we will have to see who bears the costs? This may be a student or his family, a business firm, a government, local, provincial or national. Secondly, "in a generalized theoretical formulation opportunity costs could be defined to encompass all kinds of foregone satisfactions." Thirdly, we should consider to the extent, which present choices condition the range of future alternatives. Finally, we will have to make a distinction between problems in which the appropriate opportunity cost measure could refer to the best actually perceived alternative versus those in which opportunity cost would refer to an hypothesized optimum that omniscience would identify among the potential alternatives.

In brief, the cost to be considered when estimating human capital values approaches include earnings forgone, cost of instructions, current outlays for the operation of physical plants and equipment which include depreciation and implicit interest on the value of physical asset, and finally incidental expenses of schooling, such as books and extra travel. It should be clarified that these estimates are from societal points of view. If we were estimating the cost from individual points of view, tuition charges would replace the allowance of teachers' salaries and the operating cost of physical plant.

Return to Education Calculations:

A pioneering work in this field has been done by J. R. Walsh in 1935.[29] He calculated the net discounted lifetime earnings for high school students, B.A. and several professional occupations including additional university training. From his results, he drew conclusions about the nature of the equilibrium in the labor market for those types of personnel.

Ten years later Friedman and Kuznets also examined the discounted capital values of the net earnings from several occupations; their main interest was in explaining income differentials.[32]

Most recently, Houthakkar calculates the discounted values of persons with various amounts of schooling using several discount rates.[31] Weisbrod, too, has estimated a gross production of a man as a function of a value of a person's annual output, labor force participation rates and the probability of survival.[32] He assumed an unemployment rate of 5 per cent and to arrive at net figures, deducted people's estimated consumption. Discount rates of 4 per cent and 10 per cent were used and it was found that the maximum capital value of a man is at age 27, if the first was employed and 30 of the second was used. Negative values were assumed for the people over 70.

Renshaw also estimated the stock of human capital by capitalizing median income differentials and discounting at both 5 per cent and 10 per cent; a comparison with his result by Schultz's cost of production estimates of human capital values revealed the latter to be between his two figures.[33] Unfortunately, there is no simple answer to the question of what is the right discount factor and this question has in face been the subject of considerable alternative investment opportunities.

Becker[34] has made use of a comparative rate of return in the neighborhood of 9-10 per cent on the ground that this is roughly the average rate of return on private investment in the United States—businessmen would certainly be reluctant to undertake any project that did not promise to yield at least this high rate of return. The argument is, of course, that if we can earn 9-10 per cent on alternative investment, a purely economic case for investing relatively more on education would have to be based at least at a high rate of return on education.

A rather different approach to this "other rate of return" question has been taken by Denison.[35] Denison starts with Houthakkar's figures on mean incomes earned in the United States before tax classification into groups according to age and years of schooling, obtained from the 1960 census of population. Denison assumes that "three-fifths" of the related income differential represent differences in education as distinguished from associated characteristics. As the next step, these differentials due to educational changes are applied to distribution of males by years of schooling completed at various past dates and, thereby, the rise in average income due to increase in the number of school years completed is estimated.

He finds that from 1924 and 1957 education raised the average quality of labor by 29.6 per cent or at an average annual rate of 0.93 per cent.[36] The next question is how much effect did the rise in the quality of labor force have on the national output. Since the average share of the labor in the national income over the period was 73 per cent, it is concluded that the elasticity of output with respect to the labor is 0.93.[37] Thus, Denison concluded that the average annual rate of rise of 0.93 per cent of the quality of labor force would have increased the national product by 0.68 per cent per year (being 73 per cent of 0.93).

Whether the allocation of resources to education is in the public and private domain, the central concept in planning and financing education, is the rate of return on the educational investment and the general efficiency test is that this investment be made in accordance with the priorities set by the relative rates of return on alternative investment opportunities.

The main features of the estimated rates of returns for high school graduates and others can be summarized in Table 1.

The implicit rate of returns for the United States private domestic economy appears to range between 10 and 15 per cent as in Table 1 column 4. For elementary grades, we can rely on Hanock's estimates of the private rates using 1960 census data are mostly above 100 per cent.[38] His estimates confirm the estimates of Hansen.[39] For high schools, Becker's estimates centered around 25 per cent as revealed in Table 1 from 1939 to 1958. Since then, the indication is that it has probably been slightly higher. Schultz estimated the returns for graduate research. If one assumes the stipends as earnings, the rate of return to graduate work is in the neighborhood of 15 per cent.[40] Of course, the estimated results as shown above, are solely based on private rates of return.

The results derived from private rates of return to investment in education have to be interpreted with great caution. The great margins of uncertainty and imprecision may arise from what is termed the consumption—investment dichotomy of the problem as stated earlier. The rate of return analysis treats education as an investment, whereas to many individuals education is at the same time a consumption expenditure. The way to avoid this problem is simple: in the calculation either deduct from costs the consumption element,[41] or add the consumption element to the returns.[42] But in practice, there is no chance of identifying the consumption element and investment element and so no correlation is made. The margin of uncertainty may be large if for example, two thirds of education expenditures are viewed as consumption then counting all costs and returns by a factor of 3.

The question whether people base demands for education on some economic calculus of the type outlined above, is a point incapable of resolution at this moment. This is not to say that earnings factors do not enter into decisions made by individuals

Table 1

ESTIMATES OF PRIVATE RATES OF RETURNS, UNITED STATES (Per cent)

Year	High School Graduates (White Males after Personal taxes)[a]	College Graduates (White Males after Personal taxes)[a]	Corporate Manufacturing Firms (after Profit Taxes but before Personal Taxes)[b]	U. S. Private Domestic Economy (Implicit Rate of Return after Profit Taxes but before Personal Taxes)[c]
1939	16	14.5		
1949	20	13+		12.6
1956	25	12.4	7.0 (prepared for 1947-57)	14.4 (1955-56)
1958	28	14.8		12.3 (1957-58)
1959	slightly higher than in 1958			9.7
1961	slightly higher than in 1958			11.2 (1960-61)
1963-65				13.3

Source: Schultz, T. W., "Resources for Higher Education: An Economist's View," *Journal of Political Economy*, May/June 1968, p. 337.

(a) From Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital*, 1964, p. 128.

(b) *Ibid*, p. 115 where Becker draws on a study by George J. Stigler.

(c) Jergenson and Griliches, "The Explanation of Productivity Change," *Review of Economic Studies*, Vo. 34, July 1967, p. 268.

about their education. It is just more probable that people weigh up, in some crude and emotional way, various kinds of factors, and made a lunge at a decision.

The calculations of social returns might be useful in determining the total resources to be devoted to education, and also in determining the allocation of resources within the education sector. It is suggested that the government, no matter whether it is federal, state and local should invest in education up to the point where the social returns equal those from other government expenditures and to the social opportunity costs of the capital employed. Social rates of returns might appear to be able to offer guidance about the allocation of resources within the educational sector, even where the total resources to be allocated to education are decided on some other grounds.

Jack Wiseman[43] points out to the underlying valuation problems in arriving at policy decisions relating to investment in education. The same education which changes the economic attributes of an individual also changes his non economic attributes. The two are inseparable from each other. It not only changes his efficiency but also aspirations, tastes, preferences, values and so on. For purposes of valuing the psychic income (current as well as future), is the pre-education valuation valid or the post education valuation valid? In case of compulsory education whose valuation do we take into account? The same problem arises with respect to different contents of education. Nor is the return to education unaffected by the market structure and broad environment (e.g., job discrimination and unequal access to educational opportunities). According to him, the economists should be able to analyze the economic consequences of environmental changes as well as changes in the quantum of investment. They should precisely state the valuation constraints that are implicit in their reasoning.

The increased expenditure in education may have been largely influenced by public policy which naturally varies from country to country and from time to time in its responsiveness for consumer demand for education, or to investment opportunities in education. Public and its political representatives may have a vision of the future which differs from the present, and which the societal investment in question is in part intended to help creating the context which is controlling of its value.

The evidence of the association of educational investment with physical investment, together with the observation on the causes of the low rates of return suggest complementarity between capital and labor as factors of production. Labor incorporates certain aptitudes and skills which are necessary for economic development along with physical capital. If this is the case, then the relevant question is of investing the highest rate of return; rates of return to one factor may not be a complete guide, as increased investment in, say, higher education of a certain kind could raise the rate of return on both physical and human capital in general.

The true social return to investment in education is more difficult to calculate with any accuracy than the private return. All the difficulties encountered in the private calculations recur, and there is in addition to measurement of external benefits with which to contend. There are also the difficulties of adjusting existing salary for labor market imperfection though, these problems are, perhaps, no more serious than other applications of cost-benefit analysis. The externalities give a large range of indeterminacy to the calculated results. Because of the serious difficulties encountered in the calculation of social rates of returns, it is crystal clear that the large differences in the return to different levels or types of education would have to be apparent before the results would have any great significance for educational policy making.

In conclusion, let me repeat what Becker once made a comment. After having painstaking research on the rates of return analysis, Becker was forced to conclude that it is impossible to reach any firm judgment about the social returns from education as opposed to other investments. It does not mean that the research along this line of approach is a mere wastage of time and energy, but on the other hand, it does mean we should write further research along the lines of social rates of return as a method of efficiently allocating resources to and among educational projects. Surely, the issue is not whether attempts should be made to apply the techniques of rate of return to education but how best to do so.

FOOTNOTES

[1] T. W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," in *American Economic Review*, March 1961, p. 8.

[2] H. G. Shaffer, in his comment on Schultz *(Ibid.)* in *American Economic Review*, December, 1961, especially pp. 1026-27. Shaffer, however, makes special reference to education, which is wrong. Also, on this and other grounds, his object to the application of the concept of "capital" to man, the objection is misplaced.

[3] T. W. Schultz, in his "Reply to Shaffer," *American Economic Review*, De-

cember, 1961, p. 1038.

[4] We may then say that "investment" is by no means identical with "capital formation" especially, in the case of human capital.

[5] Consumption is always by the utilizer of a good or service, and not necessarily by the spender; a want is felt by the utilizer. In a welfare state, a consumer good or service may be provided free to the people by the state.

[6] I. Svennilson, F. Edding & L. Elvin, "Targets for Education in Europe in 1970," *Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education*, Washington, 1961, II., (Paris, O.E.C.D., 1962), pp. 22-25. See also, R. Renshaw, "Estimates and Returns to Education," where he suggests that the educational process may also yield negative satisfactions due to students being forced to learn material they are not interested in and which will be of little future value to them.

[7] R. S. Eckaus, "Education and Economic Growth," In Selma S. Muskin, ed., *The Economics of Higher Education*, Washington, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1962, p. 107. See also, Michael Kasser, "Needs and Resources for Social Investment," *International Social Science Journal* Vol. 12, No. 3, 1960, pp. 413-15.

[8] W. G. Bowen, "Assessing the Economic Contributions of Education," "An Appraisal of Alternative Approaches," *O. E. C. D.*, March 1962.

[9] Shaffer, *Op cit*, p. 1026.

[10] It may appear, wage is also a cost and hence to be regarded as a cost, but in producing something else, say a capital good; hence wage is also a part of investment in the capital good. Wage is also a part of investment in human capital when it is used in creating a human asset, for example, a professor's salary. But wage cannot be an investment in the individual who ruins it, for it is only the remuneration for the work he turns out. Stipend, however, is a part of such investment in him, because it is a cost borne by creating an asset out of him and not a payment for his service.

A salaried employee, no doubt, increases his productivity as he gathers experience. But this is not at extra cost to anybody. There cannot be an investment unless there is a cost involved. So even from this point of view, there is no justification to consider wage as an investment.

[11] Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital* New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964; See also, "Investment in Human Capital; A Theoretical Analysis," in *Journal of Political Economy*, October, 1962, pp. 9-49.

[12] This hypothesis is untested; it is possible that Becker underestimates the degree of specificity of training.

[13] John Vaizey, *Economics of Education*, London, Faber & Faber Co., 1962, pp. 51-52.

[14] See S. Strumlin, "The Economics of Education in U.S.S.R.," *The International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 14, 1961, p. 641.

[15] M. J. Bowman, "An Economist's Approach to Education," *International Educational Review*, Vol. 16, 1970, p. 169.

[16] The only exception is the work of Clark and Sobkov who mistakenly included these cost items. They estimated such costs at 40% of the total cost of education in 1956-57 (H. F. Clark & R. E. Sobkov, *People in the United States Afford to Spend on Education?* New York, Columbia University Press, 1958).

See also J. R. Walsh who made such an error. (J. R. Walsh, "Capital Concept Applied to Man," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 49, February, 1935, pp. 235-285).

[17] T. W. Schultz, *Op cit*, p. 580, see also W. L. Hansen, "Total and Private Rates of Return to Investment in Schooling," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 71, April 1963, p. 131.

[18] *Op cit.*, p. 15.

[19] "In India, parents are willing to send their children to schools between the age group 6-9 because at this stage, the child is not generally much use to the parents for work at home. But as soon as the age of 9 is reached and the child begins to be useful at home for some work or the other, his attendance begins to fall and reaches comparatively very low level by the time the age group 13-14 is reached. Enrollment for age group 8-9 declines from 70.4 per cent for boys and

50.8 per cent for girls to 35.4 per cent for boys and 11.8 per cent for girls in the age group 13-14," (J. P. Naik, "Enrollment Policies in Indian Education," *Man Power Journal*, Vol. I., April 1965, p. 68).

[20] Weisbrod, B. A. "Education and Investment in Human Capital," *Journal of Political Economy*, Supplementary Number, Vol. 70, No. 5, Part II., October, 1962, p. 122.

[21] Schultz, T. W., *The Economic Value of Education*, 1963, p. 22.

[22] Vaizey, J., *Op cit.* p. 43.

[23] *Ibid*, p. 132.

[24] Vaizey is prepared to accept estimates of value of time saved by people using Britain's London-Burmingham super highway as a dollar benefit from its construction. *(Ibid*, pp. 47-48). There is little difference in principle between this and treating as a cost of schooling the dollar value of the time involved in obtaining that schooling.

[25] Eckaus, *Op cit*, p. 114.

[26] P. Wiles, "The Nation's Intellectual Investment," *Bulletin of Oxford University Institute of Statistics*, Vol. 18, August 1956, p. 256.

[27] Schultz, *op cit*, p. 26.

[28] Bowman, M. J., "The Costing of Human Resource Development," *Conference of the Economics of Education*, International Economic Association, France, August 29-September 7, 1963.

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[30] Walsh, *Op cit.*, p. 49.

[31] Friedman, M. & Kuznets, S., *Income from Independent Professional Practices*, New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1945.

[32] Houthakkar, S., "Education and Income," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 41, February 1959, pp. 24-28.

[33] Renshaw, *op cit*, pp. 321-323.

[34] Becker, *Op cit*, pp. 348-49.

[35] Denison, E. F., *The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States* and the Alternative Before Us, 1962, p. 201.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[37] Let Y = Output
W = Wage Rate
L = Employment
M = The share of wages in national output.

We know from the marginal productivity assumption that $W = \dfrac{dy}{dL}$

$$\text{therefore, } M = \frac{WL}{Y} = \frac{dy}{dL} \Big/ \frac{Y}{L}$$

= the elasticity of output with respect to labor.

[38] Hanock, G., "Personal Earnings and Investment in Schooling," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1965. See also, "An Economic Analysis of Earnings and Schooling," *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 2, Summer 1967, pp. 310-29.

[39] Hansen, W. L., "Total and Private Rates of Return to Investment in Schooling," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 71, April 1963, pp. 128-40.

[40] Schultz, T. W., *Investment in Human Capital*, Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 42.

[41] There has been some discussion as to whether the consumption elements are positive. See M. Blaug, "The Rate of Return on Investment in Education In Great Britain," in *Manchester School*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1965, pp. 218-20.

[42] Because of the discounting factor these methods would not yield the same results, but this is hardly important in view of the impossibility of measuring the consumption element.

[43] Wiseman, J., "Cost-Benefit Analysis in Education," *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 32, July 1965, pp. 1-14.

II

EDUCATION AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

During the 1960s Americans made a frontal attack on racial discrimination. The new dimension of interests of the black Americans has been created with respect to education and job opportunities. As a result, the Federal and State governments have passed additional legislations to redress injustice, and to distribute privilege, power and dignity in a more socially equitable manner. This chapter seeks to find out some effects of education upon the personal distribution of income between the black and the white.

There is a sharp distinction between the egalitarian and the elitist views of education and the effects of these views upon the personal distribution of income. The egalitarian view concerns itself with reducing the inequality in the supply of education opportunities to various segments of the society. The elite view is concerned with the demand for education, i.e., the actual differences in the capacity to benefit from human capital formation. The latter emphasis can be clearly seen when one compares the ability of a student from a favorable environmental background with one from a less favorable environment. The elite view would emphasize that the more favored student will probably gain more from additional capital formation because of the cultural and social advantages he has already assimilated.

Children of poor people acquire not only somewhat less schooling but, what is much more important, the schooling they obtain as a rule, is much lower in quality than that acquired by children in families with high incomes. The problem is deep rooted. If we transfer additional resources in improving the schooling system, this will not solve the problem. The policy implications of the inequality of schooling that is associated with the inequality in the distribution of personal income are strong and clear. Windham concludes in his case study of the state financed higher education in Florida, that the distribution of education in Florida is uneven and is biased in favor of high income groups.[1] Of all new university students in Florida in the fall of 1967, 52.2 per cent were white males, 39.6 per cent were white females, 4.2 per cent were black males and 3.7 per cent were black females.[2] Thus, blacks who constitute a much larger percentage of low income groups than they do of the general population, are faced with a discouraging prospect. They are already at the bottom of the income scale; they are supporting a net subsidy for higher, predominantly white, income groups; and they can expect the income differentials between them and the recipients of the subsidy to increase over time. In another study of direct cost and direct benefits of public higher education for California, Hansen and Weisbrod concluded that the proportion of costs paid relative to the proportion of benefits received increased as the level of family income decreased.[3] They concluded that if the government wanted to remove the inequities of the system, substantial revision of the present tax structure and/or the eligibility base for public higher education would be required.

For providing some guidelines for equity problem, Professor Schultz advocated three propositions that are as follows:[4]

(1) Since the distribution of personal income from non-human capital (income producing property) is much more unequal than that from human capital and as the stock of human capital increases relative to that of non-human capital, other things being equal, the inequity of the distribution of personal income is thereby reduced.

(2) To the extent that the number of years and the quality of schooling, both elementary and high schools, the children of all families approach equality, and to the extent that the differences in innate abilities account for a small part of economic value of such schooling, the inequality of personal distribution of earnings (income) is thereby reduced.

(3) Although, there are appreciable rents to innate abilities that are necessary to acquire the skills and knowledge associated with higher education, if all the students were to pay the full cost of education they receive, the unequal distribution of innate abilities **per se** would not increase the inequality in distribution of personal income that originates from higher education.

In a hypothetical world, if we assume that human capital is acquired by all households and also if it is distributed equally among all the households, the rate of return to such human capital is somewhat higher than that derived from non-human capital provided that the accumulation of additional human capital takes place at a higher rate than the rate of increase in non-human capital, induced by the difference in the rates of return. As the accumulation of human capital occurs at a higher rate than the rate of increase in the households, it follows that this process would tend to reduce the inequality in the distribution of personal income.[5]

Investment in education is heavily weighted in favor of youth. The fact that schooling costs less when one is young and renders satisfactions and earning for a longer period of time gives youth a strong comparative advantage. Thus, there are compelling economic reasons for schooling to be acquired early in life. Then, too, as result of marked secular rise in the level of schooling, young people enter the labor force with more educational capital than earlier generations had when they started to work. Thus, the personal distribution of educational capital by age of worker is strongly skewed toward youth. But from an investment point of view, this secular advantage of youth has still another advantage, but the gains from it are in fact, acquired at the expense of older workers. The advantages of knowledge become an integral part of instruction and as this occurs, they are the source of new skills. But these new skills tend to make the skills of older workers obsolete. It would be very convenient if workers with obsolete educational capital (skills) could be abandoned like obsolete physical capital! But this option is foreclosed on welfare grounds. Much remains to be done in clarifying policy choices in solving this problem of gains and losses.[6]

Recently, a projection of education and adult workers was made by Johnston where he clearly indicated that the adult labor force of 1985 will be younger, better educated and more homogeneous (among race, sex and age groups) in its educational attainment than it is today.[7] In 1965, workers 25 to 34, whose average educational attainment is higher than that of older workers, amounted to 24 per cent of the civilian labor force 25 and over—a rise in number from 14.2 million in 1965 to 28.3 million in 1985.[8]

The expected convergence in the education attainment of the white and the black races reflects the continuing response of "black and other youth" to the increased educational opportunities. This can be explained in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that the 1950 census disclosed a gap of 3.3 years in the median educational attainment of white workers 25 years and over and the corresponding "black and other" group. By 1965 this gap had narrowed to 2.3 years. The projection presented in this report reflects the assumption that this convergence will continue, so that by 1985, white workers 25 years and over are expected to have a median educational attainment of

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Table 1

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY RACE, SELECTED YEARS, 1950 TO 1985 (Per Cent)

Race & Year	No. in Thousand	Elementary School			High School		College		Median Yrs. of School Completed
		Less than 5 years	5-7 years	8 yrs.	1-3 yrs.	4 yrs.	1-3 yrs.	4 yrs.	
White—									
Both Sexes									
1950 (Census)	42,459	6.9	13.9	21.0	18.5	22.7	8.3	8.5	10.3
1964-65-66	53,672	2.9	7.6	13.6	18.4	34.3	10.1	13.1	12.2
1967-68-69	56,824	2.1	6.1	11.0	17.0	37.8	11.5	14.5	12.4
Projected:									
1975	62,124	1.8	4.6	8.1	17.0	41.0	11.6	15.9	12.5
1980	67,631	1.3	3.4	6.1	16.0	43.2	12.4	17.8	12.5
1985	73,728	1.0	2.5	4.4	14.5	45.0	13.0	19.7	12.6
Black & Other Races:									
1950 (Census)	4,781	30.6	28.4	17.2	13.7	8.9	3.3	2.9	7.0
1964-65-66	6,531	13.5	17.8	12.3	22.9	20.7	6.0	7.0	9.9
1967-68-69	6,794	11.5	16.1	10.9	22.5	24.8	7.0	7.2	10.5
Projected:									
1975	7,679	7.2	11.5	8.8	24.2	31.2	8.1	9.0	11.8
1980	8,696	5.4	8.7	6.7	23.2	36.3	9.3	10.5	12.2
1985	9,916	3.4	5.8	5.1	22.0	40.5	10.5	12.8	12.3

Source, *Ibid*, p. 44.

12.6 years, and "black and other group" an attainment of 12.3 years—with a remaining "gap" of only 0.3 years.

There are three major limitations to be recognized in examining data on years of school completed in order to appraise the educational attainment of the population or of the labor force. First, the data does not include education, training or other learning experiences occurring outside the framework of formal schooling.[9] Second, they do not reflect possible differences in both the quality of education received and the actual quantity of both time spent in school years, measured in hours of instruction. Third, they do not provide information on the content of learning, or on the current status of formal education, training or skill, which a person may once have possessed.

A major source of data on the relationship of education to other social, psychological and economic variables is a United States Government document published in 1966.[10] Its principal author, James Coleman was sponsored by the United States office of Education, under the Civil Rights Act, 1964 to investigate the "lack of equality of educational opportunity" among racial and other groups in the United States. In the original intention of the Congress in writing the law, gross material inequities were probably dominant. The Office of Education, however, and the authors of the survey interpreted their brief very widely, to cover many aspects of inequality of opportunity.

According to Coleman, three of the definitions of inequality of opportunity were (1) facilities, curriculum, teachers, (2) educational and socio-economic background of the population, (3) "morale" of the school. The Report suggested that the most important factors in attainment were the background of the fellow students, and the least important were facilities, with teacher quality midway between, whether the attainment concerned was that of the blacks, or the relative attainment of the whites as against the blacks. It may not be an unfair conclusion that in assessing inputs to education in terms of their effectiveness, neither amounts spent, or even the length of school life, (the conventional measures) are as significant as the social milieu of the students.

The major source of educational equality in the United States measured by achievement, was not, (as has been expected), large inequities in educational facilities.[11] It was quite simply, that children from poor houses, going to the same and similar schools as the better-off, did worse. It was their background that was on average dominant. Another pattern of aptitude for different American ethnic groups (Chinese, Blacks and Puerto Ricans) and their levels of aptitudes varied with social class.[12]

Samuel Bowles disagrees with the interpretation of **Coleman Report** that would imply that spending more on the schools would have relatively small consequences for educational attainment.[13] His reinterpretation of the raw data would imply that such an improvement in attainment would result from higher expenditures, but that discrimination in the labor market against blacks also needs to be dealt with "the earning gap considerably exceeds the learning gap."[14]

It is well established, probably, beyond reasonable doubt, that educational differences mostly reveal themselves before secondary and high education begin; that is, that by and large, an individual's life chances are mainly determined before his secondary education begins. The Crowther, Newsom and Robbins **Report** are unanimous on this point.[15]

It is held by some authorities that these deeply entrenched differences are genetic in origin,[16] while others regard them as the results of profoundly important socio-cultural conditioning at a very early age. The **Plowden Report,** which presents an authoritative interpretation of the evidence, suggests that an oversimplification of the issue is to be avoided.[17] Both nature and nurture exercise an influence but L. T. Hogleen and J. B. Haldane made it publicly clear that there is no general solution of the problem of estimating the size of the contribution made by each.[28] The reason is that the size of contribution made by nature is itself a function of nurture. Most differences between human beings are determined both by nature and by nurture, and their contributions are not fixed, but vary independence on each other.

Schultz mostly overlooked the socio-cultural background of the students and he mainly emphasized the importance of the quality of schooling rather than quantity of schooling. According to him, "the differences in the quality of schooling are great, and they are the heart of our most serious problems, especially so in elementary schooling."[19] It is in terms of quality that many rural children in the South and many children from the black families are at a marked disadvantage.

Welch concluded in his analysis of measurement of the quality of schooling that the elimination of the discrimination in the quality of schooling may be an important vehicle for removing income differences between the black and the white.[20] He suggested that the improvement in the quality of schooling may (1) reduce the observed discrimination against schooling (2) reduce an increased investment in schooling (3) induce greater effort while in school, which will increase the quality of education per unit of attendance time.

In his later study in 1973, Welch advocated that the relative income differences between the black and the white fell significantly as the school completion level rose.[21] With the Census Report and the Survey of Economic Opportunity of 1969, he explained that during the early periods of 1920s and 1930s, blacks attended the school days just as ⅔rd-of the whites. The situation was much worse in the southern states where whites attended the school days nearly three times than that of the black. Obviously, the earnings on the basis of school days would be lower for the blacks as against the whites. The return to schooling is broken into two components—a direct and the indirect effect. The direct effect he estimated as a percentage increment in annual earnings associated with an extra year of schooling assuming that the weeks worked and the probability of zero earning being constant. The indirect effect he measured as a percentage increment in earnings related to the increased number

TABLE 2

PROPORTIONAL INCREMENT IN INCOME ASSOCIATED WITH ONE ADDITIONAL YEAR OF SCHOOLING

Experience/Class	WHITE			BLACK		
	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
CENSUS (1959)						
1- 4	.208	.095	.111	.317	.079	.231
5-12	.134	.081	.052	.149	.065	.077
13-25	.099	.064	.035	.059	.040	.015
SEO (1966)						
1- 3	.306	.146	.157	.519	.230	.289
4- 7	.191	.106	.084	.256	.142	.111
8-11	.149	.082	.067	.192	.079	.109
12-19	.143	.090	.053	.130	.062	.065
20-32	.110	.069	.041	.096	.049	.042

of weeks worked and the reduced probability of having zero earnings associated with increased schooling.

He understands the difficulty of measuring the indirect effects of earnings as it depends on many complex factors. To avoid complexity, he assumed that the simple supply function of labor would hold good between work and schooling as stated by Lindsay.[22]

His statistical findings are reproduced in our Table 2.

The relative gains of the blacks in relation to additional schooling can be explained by changes in the labor market condition with the changes in the attitudes toward discrimination. Another interesting fact is that both quality and quantity of schooling among the blacks have been improved significantly in relation to the whites in recent years. It is true that the comparison of the quality of schooling is very difficult to make. Despite these difficulties the Table 2 depicts some insight of the relative improvement of the blacks in earnings with respect to their education.

James Gwartney used Census data from the **Coleman Report** to decompose the gross income differentials between whites and the blacks into two categories; a difference attributed directly to productivity factors and a residual unaccounted for by productivity factors, which could be attributed to racial discrimination in income.[23] He concluded that the major differences in black/white incomes are largely attributed to differences in scholastic achievement scores he derived from the Coleman Report.

But Ashenfelter and Taussig argued that achievement differentials for students at various grade levels (Coleman Report) do not accurately reflect the actual achievement differentials for those who completed comparable grade levels in the labor force in 1959. To them, lifetime earning streams, test scores, years of schooling and other productivity enhancing variables along with the cultural environmental factors would affect the test scores.[24]

In order to evaluate earnings, employment and racial discrimination, we are to answer two basic questions: (1) What portion of black/white earnings and employment differentials can be attributed to distributional differences in productivity and locational factors between blacks and the whites, and what portion may be attributed to racial discrimination? (2) What portion of the earnings differentials can be attributed to the distributional differences in occupation between blacks and whites?

Kiker and Liles criticized Gwartney's approach on the ground that he considered the effect of racial discrimination on earnings only, completely overlooking the importance of high unemployment rate among the blacks.[25] With their primary data obtained from published and unpublished manpower research reports compiled by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense and Reserve Affairs, they concluded that the blacks in the sample are under-represented in regions with high unemployment rate.[26]

With the Census Reports of 1960 and 1970, Joan Gustafson, Haworth, James Gwartney and Charles Haworth had investigated the interactions between changing relative earnings, discriminatory employment practices and relative productivity.[27] According to their findings, the unadjusted earning ratio between the whites and the blacks in 1959 was 57.7 per cent as against 66.0 per cent in 1969.[28] They adjusted the earning differentials with seven important productivity variables such as age, years of schooling, Rural Resident, Southern Resident, Annual Hours Worked, Marital Status and Veteran Status and after adjustment to these variables in their production function, they came to the conclusion that the non-white earning ratio compared to the white became 80.5 per cent in 1959 compared to 83 per cent in 1969.[29] Thus, non-white earnings ratio adjusted for the seven factors gained 3.1 per cent from 1959 to 1969. But, these findings would be misleading because it implicitly assumed that both whites and the non-whites have the same earnings function which is unrealistic by nature.

To them, the additional year of schooling pays differently to the whites as against the blacks. In 1959, the pay off for the whites was nearly three times higher than that of the non-whites for additional year of schooling on average but, in 1969, this pay off reduced to two times higher.[30] After adjusting the separate earning function for the whites and the non-whites, these researchers constructed an estimate of one color group given the mean values of the other. In 1959, if both color groups had possessed the white mean values, the estimated non white earning ratio would have been 70.8 per cent. Assuming that both groups possessed the non white productivity characteristics in 1959, the estimated earning ratio for the non-white was 70.9 per cent.[31]

They developed a second hypothetical non-white earning ratio using an identical earning function assumption. Their estimate uses the existing differences in the mean values of the earnings related variables of the color groups but assumes identical earning function according to color. Using the white earning function in 1959, the non white earning ratio was estimated to be 81.3 per cent and using the black earning function, this ratio would be 81.5 per cent—the difference was only 0.2 per cent.[32] in 1969, these estimates would be 83.5 and 86.0 per cent respectively.[33] This information suggests to us that there was a relative improvement in the distribution of productivity characteristics of the non white labor force compared to the whites during 1960s.

According to Haworth-Gwartney-Haworth, the cohort analysis has many advantages in the distribution of the white and the non white earnings. First, the cohort analysis will allow us to measure the earnings of both white and non-white at a similar point in the cycle of lifetime earnings. Second, the cohort comparison enables the investigators to "hold earnings related variables" constant over time. Third, the cohort analysis will allow us to

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED CHANGES IN THE NON WHITE EARNINGS RATIO WITHIN COHORT GROUPINGS BETWEEN 1959 AND 1969

(In Per Cent)

Cohort Group	1959	1969	Change
Actual Non-White Earning Ratio			
25-34 in 1960 (35-44 in 1970)	60.6	65.0	+7.3
35-44 in 1960 (45-54 in 1970)	56.8	60.3	+6.2
45-54 in 1960 (55-64 in 1970)	53.2	53.0	+5.2
Unweighted Mean	56.9	60.4	+6.2
Hypothetical Non-White Earning Ratio—Separate Earning Approach			
Identical Productivity (White)			
25-34 in 1960	73.6	77.9	+5.7
35-44 in 1960	70.8	74.0	+4.5
45-54 in 1960	69.9	74.1	+6.0
Identical Earning Function (White)			
25-34 in 1960	80.4	83.3	+3.6
35-44 in 1960	76.3	75.6	—1.0
45-54 in 1960	69.7	72.5	+4.0
Unweighted Mean	75.5	77.1	+2.1

Source: *Ibid.* p. 164.

say something about changes in the white/nonwhite differentials in employment opportunities and economic preparedness of successive age groupings. One disadvantage in the cohort analysis is that it fails to take into account the factors as health, achievement, motivation, and job preferences which might have influence for the current differences in the white and the nonwhite incomes.

In Table 3 we are reproducing the same data used by Haworth, Gwartney and Haworth.

Table 3 gives considerable insight into the mechanism that brought about the relative earnings gain of the non-white during the 1960s. The non-white earning ratio, both adjusted and unadjusted for relative productivity differences, is negatively associated with age. The younger the age group, the higher the nonwhite earning ratio. This is an important factor in explaining the magnitude of the gains in the non-white earning ratio for all males in the total population during the 1960s. Older non-whites with the lowest earnings relative to the whites of corresponding age exiled from the labor force and were replaced by younger nonwhites who are better prepared and educated for the labor market.

As stated earlier, education earning relation is particularly important since it influences incentives to acquire non-human capital in addition to economic status. Haworth-Gwartney-Ha-

TABLE 4

ESTIMATED CHANGES IN EARNING PER YEAR OF SCHOOLING

Years & Cohort	Non-White	White	Ratio
In 1959			
25-34 in 1960	$137	$257	53.3
35-44 in 1960	182	463	39.3
45-54 in 1960	104	444	21.1
In 1969			
25-34	$388	$649	59.8
35-44	320	741	43.2
45-54	178	639	28.0

Source: *Ibid*, p. 166.

worth findings are similar to Welch who also concluded that the earnings pay off from school was negatively related to experience. In both 1959 and 1969, the relative marginal earning per unit of education for the non-whites in the age cohort of 25-34 increased from 53.4 per cent to 59.5 per cent of the white earnings of the same age group.[34]

The achievement differences are the major factors of the gap between the income levels of the white and the non-whites with the same years of schooling, but the pattern of payoff overtime implies that this gap is significantly narrowing down. In other words, it clearly indicates that the quality of schooling is improving for the non-whites in recent years. This also can be explained in part, due to lesser degrees of discrimination practiced by the white community in recent years compared to what they did in the past.

Table 4 summarizes the earning payoffs for schooling for different cohort groups.

Some research findings indicated that the marginal payoffs for the non-whites were lowest with the most education. But according to Haworth-Gwartney-Haworth, these conclusions were misleading. The negative relation between education and the adjusted non-white earning ratio had evaporated completely by 1969 in the age cohort of 14-34. Table 5 depicts some of these conclusions.

TABLE 5

THE ADJUSTED NON-WHITE EARNING RATIO FOR MALE WITH 0-10, 11-13 AND 14 YEARS OF SCHOOLING ACCORDING TO REGION AND PERSONS AGE 14-34 FOR 1959 AND 1969

Group By Years Of Schooling		Adjusted Non-White 1959	White 1969	Earning Ratio Change
Non-South	0-10	82.8	84.3	+1.8
	11-13	76.7	82.3	+7.3
	14+	72.4	82.5	+15.3
South	0-10	72.6	74.3	+2.3
	11-13	64.5	74.0	+14.7
	14+	61.0	69.5	+13.9

Source: *Ibid*, p. 167.

The pattern of discrimination theory has sometimes been used to argue that it was quite "rational" for non-whites to become "school dropouts." The data as presented in the above table suggested that persons with 11 years or more education will have more incentives to pursue their education for increasing monetary gains. In absolute "dollar income," there was some gap between the white and non-white income, but this gap is decreasing over the years. Moreover, with more education, non-whites can compete with the whites with certain specific white collar jobs which were monopolized by the white community for a long time.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

Income distribution between the whites and the blacks can be broken down into institutional and economic components. For most of the post war period, black median income as a percentage of the white median has held fairly steady at 52 per cent. The decade of the sixties, however, was a period of relatively strong progress for American blacks, and by the end of the decade noticeable signs of improvement were being observed. Civil rights legislation in the early sixties faced open doors to economic advancement that previously had been closed. Occupations and opportunities for education that previously excluded all but a few number of blacks now accepted large black representation.

The black-white income differentials can be accounted for by differences in education, residence, and occupation and by pure economic discrimination. One reason for relatively low income of the blacks is that a disproportionate number of blacks lived in the south. Average income of the south tends to be lower than those in any other region, and this disadvantage is compounded by the fact that the relative income position of blacks in the south is the lowest of any region.

Educational differences account for some of the differentials. In 1960, the average number of school years completed by blacks was 2.7 years less than the average for whites. Now over the years, this gap is gradually narrowing down, differences in the quality of educational resources do remain.

The first comprehensive report was made by Coleman Commission. They discovered first of all, that quantifiable differences between black and white schools were not substantial. Comparison of school facilities available at black and white schools indicated that black students were at a minor disadvantage on some

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of the facilities that seem most related to academic achievement. The evidence presented by the Coleman Commission indicated, however, that school quality made very little difference in academic performance when family background was accounted for.

Some researchers have objected to the procedures employed by Coleman and his successors. Family background tends to be strongly associated with the quality of available school facilities, controlling for family background prior to analyzing the effects of schooling can negate some of the influences that the schooling actually has on academic achievement. Some contend that family background and other environmental factors are so closely associated with the quality of schooling offered that it is impossible to attribute variations in academic performance to one factor rather than the other. If the good students on the average come from upper class families and at the same time attend schools of high quality, it is not possible to say whether schooling or family background or both factors together explain the child's performance.

Some studies have attempted to separate the effects of background and school quality on academic performance without committing the procedural errors of the Coleman study. Such studies found family background variables to be of considerably more importance than school quality variables, and in this sense they have supported the findings of the Coleman Commission. Some studies have found that schools do very little to reduce differences in educational achievement; differences between pupils exist upon entrance into school, and these differences persist after years of schooling. While there is still considerable debate over these results, a blind faith in the ability of our schools to solve the problem of income inequality no longer prevails.

None of this implies that schools are not important to a child's development; certainly children do learn skills such as reading, and arithmetic, which are essential to functioning in an industrial society. Some researchers, thus, point out that beyond a certain minimum level of school quality, additional expenditures on schooling do very little to improve academic achievement.

Recently, more important studies have been undertaken to show the relation between ability, family background, and education, on the one hand, and income on the other, and they strongly criticized that earlier studies severely overestimated the contribution made by years of schooling to individual incomes. The achievement differences are the major factors of the gap between income levels of the whites and the non-whites with the same years of schooling, but, some researchers with the census report of 1959 and 1969 tried to prove that the pattern of payoff overtime implies that this gap is significantly narrowing down. They strongly asserted that the quality of schooling improved a lot among the non-whites and they concluded that the reduction in the differences in income between the white and the non-white are mostly due to lesser degree of discrimination practiced by the white community in recent years and perhaps, due to strong affirmative action programs.

One conclusion from all of this is that if society desires to reduce poverty, the problem must be attacked directly, rather than through the existing educational system. This does not imply that education is not conducive to income equality; certainly, education is a contributing factor to reduce income inequality in the social canvas, but to make it more effective we need other social policies.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Windham, Douglas M., *Education, Equality and Income Redistribution,* D. C. Heath Co., Lexington, Mass., 1970, p. 54.

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[4] Schultz, T. W., "Reflections on Investment in Man," *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. 70, October 1962, Supplementary, p. 2.

[5] An excellent discussion was done in a workshop held at the University of Chicago, June 7-10, 1971 where twenty distinguished economists participated with eight major papers dealing with effects of education in personal distribution of income.

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See also, J. W. B. Douglas, *The Home and School,* London, H.M.S.O., 1969 and Floud, J. (ed.) *Social Class and Educational Opportunity,* London, H.M.S.O., 1956.

[16] Jensen, "Equality of Educational Opportunity: A Comment," *Harvard Educational Review,* Spring, 1969, Vol. 39, No. 2, and Summer, 1969, Vol. 39, No. 3. See also Sir Cyril Bust, who holds that above 4/5th of I.Q. is genetic (Sir Cyril Bust, *Age, Ability and Aptitude,* London, 1954). Halsey, Bernstein and other writers hold that for operational purposes it is productive to assume that intelligence is so complex a concept that simple nature/nurture breakdown is impossible.

[17] The *Plowden Report,* London, H.M.S.O.

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[29] *Ibid,* p. 160.

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[32] *Ibid,* p. 162.

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III

COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK EDUCATION IN JACKSON CITY

The central purpose of this chapter is to make the cost benefit study of the black education in Jackson City. We are primarily interested in measuring internal rate of return for high school graduates (four years after the completion of eight years elementary school) and four years college education.

The information regarding the earnings and educational levels of the black people are collected from two sources. First, I mailed five hundred questionnaires in January 1975, and I received 27.6 per cent responses out of them. These questionnaires were sent to the selected black people of both sexes and they well represent the actual characteristics of the black community in Jackson. Second, I collected the published data from 1970 Census Report printed by the United States Department of Commerce.

Though, my simple survey is very small in number, yet it re-

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF AGE DISTRIBUTION BY MALE AND FEMALES

Age Distribution	Sample Result		Census Report	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
20-24 Years	12	20	16.7	17.5
25-29 "	35	40	9.1	7.6
30-34 "	16	11	6.7	7.2
35-39 "	16	18	6.2	7.4
40-44 "	6	3	7.7	8.2
45-49 "	3	2	8.9	8.2
50-54 "	7	2	8.0	7.3
55-59 "	2	2	7.6	7.2
60-64 "	2	2	7.8	8.2
65-69 "	1	—	7.3	7.5
70 Years and Above	—	—	13.7	13.7
Median Years	26 Yrs.	25.7 Yrs.	23 Yrs.	23 Yrs.

Sources: Computed from my sample survey.
Computed from Table 28 of *General Population Characteristics*, 1970, PC1B44, Bureau of Census U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970.

veals some significant insight regarding the economic characteristics of the black population in this city. I also compared my findings with the Census Report of 1970 so as to have a better idea of the total composition of the black people around Jackson.

In my sample result, the percentage of the male and female population of 21 years old and over constitutes 49 and 51 respectively as against 42 and 58 respectively in the Census Report of 1970. In Table 1, the comparative estimates of the percentage distribution of age by sex are given.

In the sample, the median years for both male and female are around 26 years as against 23 years by the Census Report of 1970. But, now within five years lapse, this median years may be more than 26 years.

In the following table, the percentage distribution of number of school years for both male and female are given.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES AND FEMALES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED OVER 21 YEARS OF AGE

Number of School Years Completed	Sample Survey		Census Report	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
No School Years Completed	0	—	5.0	3.9
Elementary: 1-4 years	1.5	—	17.0	10.4
5-7 Years	—	—	24.1	22.5
8 Years	4.4	5.7	14.4	13.6
High School: 1-3 Years	10.3	4.3	14.4	18.0
4 Years	40.0	54.3	12.0	15.1
College: 1-3 Years	14.7	15.7	6.8	5.8
4 Years or more	29.4	20.0	6.3	10.7
Median Years Completed	12.8	12.9	8.3	9.0

Sources: Computed from my Sample Survey Report
Computed from Table 108 of *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC (1) C44, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970.

In Table 2, it is interesting to note that the median years of school completed by black females in Jackson is slightly higher than black males both in my sample survey and the Census Report of 1970. Again, in my sample survey, the greater number of males and females completed more than twelve years of school as compared to 8.6 years in the Census Report. One explanation could be given against this discrepancy as the Census Report was five years old, and by this time there was a significant improvement of the high school graduation of the black community in Jackson. Another important reason is due to my small sample which may be biased in favor of high school graduates.

In Table 3, the percentage of people employed in various selected occupations for both my sample survey and the Census Report are given.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS BY SEX 21 YEARS AND OVER

Selected Occupations	Sample Survey Male	Sample Survey Female	Census Report Male	Census Report Female
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	28.0	42.8	12.9	21.2
Managers and Administrators Except Farm	6.0	—	2.7	3.0
Sales Workers	3.0	4.3	2.9	2.4
Clerical & Kindred Workers	25.0	13.0	12.3	13.6
Operatives including Transport	7.3	4.4	30.2	21.9
Laborers Except Farm	16.1	18.6	14.9	4.5
Farmers & Farm Managers	3.0	—	0.7	—
Service Workers Including Private Households	11.6	16.9	23.4	33.6

Sources: Computed from my sample survey.

Computed from Table 110 of *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC (1) C44, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970.

In our sample survey, the highest percentage of the labor force concentrated in the category of professional, technical and kindred workers whereas in the Census Report operatives including transport constituted the highest percentage. No explanatory reason can be put forward against this apparent discrepancy.

In Table 4, the comparative estimates of the median earnings of the different occupations are given between the sample survey and the census report.

There is a great deal of discrepancy between my survey results and the Census Report, and in some categories the Census Report is not available. Within five years just after the Census, the blacks have gained significantly with respect to earnings in every category of the job market. This may be due to less discrimination on the one hand, and on the other hand, it may be caused by upward movement of labor cost by inflation. It is beyond the scope of this paper to calculate how much each contributes to the increase of relative earnings of the black labor force in Jackson.

In Table 5, I focused some light on income of the persons of 21 years old and over by years of school completed.

TABLE 4

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF PROFESSIONS

Professions	Survey Results		Census Report	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	$8,200	$6,100	$3,720	N.A.
Managers & Administrative Personnel	11,000	—	N.A.	N.A.
Sales Workers	8,050	5,800	5,900	N.A.
Clerical & Kindred Workers	5,600	5,050	N.A.	3,114
Operatives Including Transport	8,300	7,800	4,500	3,802
Laborers Except Farmers	5,400	3,800	4,151	N.A.
Farmers & Farm Managers	4,800	—	3,080	N.A.
Service Workers Including Private Households	4,900	2,800	N.A.	N.A.

Sources: Computed from the Sample Survey

Computed from Table 110 of *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC (1) C44, Bureau of Census, United States Department of Commerce, 1970.

N.A. Not Available.

So far we have discussed the median incomes of the high school and the college graduates, but to calculate the internal rate of return, we should have to know the cost of education for high school graduates as well as college graduates. Here, we are mainly concerned to calculate the private cost and private benefit of these two levels of education—high school graduates and college graduates.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the cost of education is composed of two elements—direct cost and indirect cost. Tuition fees, books, transportation and necessary stationary equipments should be included in the direct cost measurement. Room, board and

TABLE 5

INCOME OF THE PERSONS OF 21 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED (FIGURES ARE IN PERCENTAGE)

Income Classifications	Sample Result		Census Report[a]	
	H. S. Grads	College Grads	H. S. Grads	College Grads
Without Income	—	—	16.9	5.3
Less than $1,000	7.0	2.9	16.8	8.1
$1,000-$1,999	3.5	—	11.2	8.6
$2,000-$2,999	9.4	—	10.1	8.0
$3,000-$3,999	6.0	—	14.6	10.5
$4,000-$4,999	23.5	9.0	10.9	7.6
$5,000-$5,999	15.5	2.9	5.9	11.8
$6,000-$6,999	11.8	6.0	5.0	14.8
$7,000-$7,999	3.5	17.6	3.0	8.0
$8,000-$9,999	10.6	14.7	3.6	10.2
$10,000-$14,999	4.7	26.4	1.8	6.6
$15,000-$24,999	4.7	17.6	0.3	0.2
$25,000 and above	—	2.9	0.1	0.3
Median Income	$5,530	$9,795	$3,761	$5,311

a. As the data for Jackson is not available, we collected the data for Nashville-Davidson SMSA for computational purpose.

Sources: Computed from my sample survey
Computed from Table 197 of *Detailed Characteristics,* PC (1) D44, Bureau of Census, United States Department of Commerce, 1970, p. 918.

clothing would not be included because people would have to pay these expenses if they were in the labor force. Expenses in connection with tuition fees, books, transportation, stationary equipments would not arise for those who did not attend school. Schultz in his estimation of the educational costs in the United States took care of all these expenses arbitrarily by adding an extra 5 per cent of earnings foregone by high school students and an extra 10 per cent in the case of college students.[1]

The costs of education for the black people in Jackson are estimated hypothetically as follows:

Direct Cost for High School Students

Books	$ 75.00	annually
Transportation	50.00	annually
Stationary & Equipment	30.00	annually
Total:	$155.00	annually

The national average of the direct cost for high school students is higher than what we estimated. The cost of education for high school students is usually lower for black students in southern states and so there is enough logical ground why our estimates are so low.

Direct Cost of 4-Year College Students

Books	$175.00	annually
Transportation	68.00	annually
Stationary Equipments	41.00	annually
Tuition Fees	$1250.00	annually
Total:	$1534.00	annually

The estimates for transportation and stationary equipments are collected from the recent work of the Institutional Research on *The Economic Impact of Lane College Upon the City of Jackson,* Figure 2, page 61 and the tuition fees data are collected from Lane College. Admission Office. These data are more justified on the ground that Lane College is the only black college in Jackson City and moreover, most of the southern black colleges have more or less the same tuition fees like Lane.

To find out the indirect cost of higher education, we will have to measure the opportunity cost of high school and college graduates. The income foregone of the high school students would be equivalent to the earnings of the people who have only completed up to eight years of elementary school. That is to say, if the high school students were actually in the labor force, they could have earned the same money wages equivalent to those with eight years school experience. The income foregone of the college students would be equivalent to the income of the high school graduates if the college students were actually in the labor force. For the estimation of the total opportunity cost of college graduates we added the cumulative total of the earnings foregone by the school and college graduates.

According to our sample survey, the average annual earnings of eight year elementary school graduates were $4,066. This equivalent income could be earned annually by the students who spent 4 years in high school. The equivalent earnings foregone for the average 4-year college student was $5,530 annually—the income the average high school graduates could have earned. The actual earnings foregone by the college students would be $5,530 annually for four years and $4,066 annually for another four years if they were in the labor force after the completion of eight years elementary school degree.

The figures are different for the Census Report owing to the fact that the median income for eight years of elementary school and four year high school degrees are lower than those estimated in our sample survey.

The opportunity cost of education would have no meaning if

TABLE 6

TOTAL OPPORTUNITY COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN JACKSON

Categories	Adjusted		Unadjusted	
	Sample Survey	Census Report	Sample Survey	Census Report
High School Grads.	**$15,044**	**$ 9,164**	**$16,264**	**$ 9,904**
4-Year College Grads.	**35,948**	**23,380**	**38,384**	**24,948**

Computed from Table 5.

we fail to take into account of unemployment rate for eight year elementary degree holders and the school graduates of the black community in Jackson City. The probability of elementary school and high school graduates to be unemployed in the existing labor market would have to be considered and then these unemployment rates are to be discounted from the estimated foregone earnings. So, we adjusted the earnings foregone by the existing unemployment rate of these two categories. According to the Report of the Office of the Employment and Social Security in Jackson the unemployment rate of the active labor force participants among the black community with elementary and high school degrees are 7.5 per cent and 5.5 per cent respectively.

In Table 6, the adjusted and unadjusted opportunity costs of high school and college graduates are given.

In Table 7, the total cost (including direct and indirect) of higher education is given.

We have already estimated the opportunity cost of the high school and college graduates along with the total cost of higher education in Jackson Oity. Now, the problem is to measure the average lifetime income of the high school and college graduates of the black population in this city.

I computed the national increase in income by different levels of school education from the *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1973.*[2] Where from 1956 to 1972, the average annual income of the American people both white and non-white with different years of school completed are given. With the extrapolation of these data, the average annual increase in income (or b value) was equal to be 4.25 per cent. But, in order to calculate the aver-

TABLE 7

TOTAL COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Categories	Adjusted		Unadjusted	
	Sample Survey	Census Report	Sample Survey	Census Report
High School Grads.	$15,644	$ 9,784	$16,884	$10,524
4-Year College Grads.	42,704	30,136	45,140	31,704

age lifetime income stream of the black population we just considered 4 per cent would be the correct figure for the annual increase in income for the high school and college graduates of the black community in Jackson City. The actual rate may be higher or lower than our estimates but no perfect information is available to correct this rate. Moreover, the rate for the college graduates may be higher than that of the school graduates as the college graduates have greater probabilities in getting promotions and other income increasing activities than their counterparts. For the sake of simplicity, we assumed 4 per cent increase in income for all graduates in our calculation. However, in Southern states the average income is always lower than that in northern states and the degree of discrimination is slightly higher in southern states compared to the rest of the United States. So, this 4 per cent annual increase in income may be upward biased rather than downward.

The lifetime income stream of the high school and college graduates for the black population in Jackson City is estimated on the basis of the median income of the respective graduates and the median years when they earned this income. The median years for both the Sample Survey and the Census Report were 26 years and so we estimated the lifetime income for those graduates for 40 year period starting from 26 and ending at 65. Of course, these estimates are crude in the sense, that we don't have any figure for age and education along with income.

TABLE 8

ESTIMATED LIFETIME INCOME OF HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES

Categories	Sample Survey	Census Report
High School Graduates	$525,491.00	$357,381.00
College Graduates	930,818.00	505,669.00

The following table will finally calculate the adjusted and unadjusted rate of return for high school and college graduates of the non-whites in Jackson City.

TABLE 9

THE ADJUSTED AND UNADJUSTED INTERNAL RATE OF RETURN FROM HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES

(figures in percentage)

Categories	Internal Rate of Return			
	Sample Survey		Census Report	
	U	A	U	A
High School Graduates	9.07	9.28	9.38	9.56
College Graduates	7.56	8.10	7.20	7.35

Summary & Conclusions:

This study differs from other studies of the imperical relationship between education and earnings in three important regards. The first major difference is that it is regional in character and more importantly, it considers only the black population in Jackson, which represents nearly thirty-three per cent of the total population in this city.

The second distinguishing characteristic is the procedure for estimating the lifetime earnings. In our study, the lifetime earnings are estimated from the median income of the school and college graduates with the median age of the population.

Finally, for the calculation of foregone earnings for college graduates, we included the cumulative total of the opportunity cost of college graduates along with the opportunity cost of high school graduates.

In spite of the superiority of the data of this survey a great number of assumptions had to be made in the processing of the data. In addition, the sample is too small and drawn primarily from such areas where any estimate derived from this data could maintain unknown biases. Besides these unknowns, there are some identifiable biases in the group who answered these questionnaires. Their earnings and educational level proved to be slightly higher than the best comparison groups available. To the extent, that greater earnings are a result of the higher education, however, this does not cause any biases in the result.

Now, we will present Table 10, where we will compare our results along with the results of other researchers. Of course, the differences in coverage among the several sets of estimates are extensive and the comparisons are therefore, to be used only with great caution. It should be remembered that these estimates are on the low side for all the studies to the extent that there are nonpecuniary benefits from education and some of the expenditure on education is for the purpose of direct consumption in the present and the future rather than for investment.

Our estimates of the rate of return for high school education as well as college education are much lower than all the other estimates. This could be a result due to the fact that blacks earned less additional income with additional years of schooling. Also, there is some possibility that the steady lowering of the estimates of the rate of return to college education from Becker (unadjusted rate 13.8 per cent) to Hansen (unadjusted rate 11.6 per cent) to Hanock (unadjusted rate 10.0 per cent) is a function

TABLE 10

ESTIMATES OF INTERNAL RATES OF RETURN TO INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

	Becker[a]		Hanock[b]		Hansen[c]	Debnath[d]			
						Sample		Census	
	U	A	U	A	U	U	A	U	A
From Grade 8 to 12	18.0	—	18.0	16.0	15.3	9.07	9.28	9.38	9.56
From Grade 12 to 4-Year College	13.8	11.5	10.0	9.6	11.6	7.56	8.10	7.20	7.35

(a) Private Returns for white males after tax; average for 1939 and 1949 cohorts.

(b) Private rates of return for white males (northerners)

(c) Private rates of return before tax for males

(d) Private rates of return before tax for black males in Jackson City.

Sources:	Becker, G. S.,	*Human Capital,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1964, p. 184.
	Hanock, G.,	"Personal Earnings and Investment in Schooling," *The Journal of Human Resources,* Summer, 1967, p. 320.
	Hansen, W. L.,	"Total and Private Rates of Return to Investment in Schooling," *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. 71, April 1963, pp. 128-40.

of time. Becker uses 1939 and 1949 data, Hansen uses 1949 data, and Hanock uses 1959 data whereas we use 1975 and 1969 data.[3] A secular decline would result if the large increase in the number of college-educated individuals over that time period has caused a decrease in the relative earnings of college graduates.

Many conceptual and theoretical qualifications require classifications before our results can be used for any purpose of economic analysis. It is not our intention to dwell at length on these qualifications, nor do we intend to use outside information and additional assumptions to modify the numerical results with various adjustments and corrections. Because of inadequate data, such adjustments cannot be complete; however, a partial adjustment may increase rather than decrease the overall bias.

The more important biases inherent in the estimated profiles and rates of return are those associated with ability. There is probably a significant positive correlation between ability to earn income—a combination of natural and acquired ability traits——and the level of schooling achieved. This obviously leads to a positive bias in the differentials between schooling levels and in rates of return to schooling.[4]

Non-pecuniary returns (positive or negative) which are not measured as earnings, are another source of serious bias. The consumption aspect of schooling activity itself is also a form of non-pecuniary element. The overall effect of all various forms of non-pecuniary elements on the rate of return is unknown and difficult to evaluate, especially because many of these elements are not measurable or even quantifiable (such as status, satisfaction from learning, etc.) as discussed in Chapter 1.

The internal rates of return of the black high school and college graduates in the city of Jackson are usually low as revealed in our estimates. This is due to the irregular nature of the estimated earnings profile in these groups. According to Hanock, the differences of the quality of schooling cannot explain away the fact that the internal rates of return for whites are higher than those for blacks.[5] The discrepancy between whites and blacks in rates of return for equal investment is probably greater for equal schooling, because black students have, on the average, lower costs per year per dollar privately invested. However, in our study we didn't discuss the quality of schooling in terms of IQs or any other measurement, as we do feel that the quality of schooling is very difficult to measure in quantifiable terms.

In conclusion, I would like to add that the returns to education to the black community in the city of Jackson are much lower than the national average. With the same level of education, blacks are usually getting lower wages than the whites. The black-white income differentials can be accounted for by differences in education, residence and occupation and by pure economic discrimination. Considerable discrimination is faced by the black people in the job market. Not only do blacks tend to be employed in low paying jobs with little chance for advancement, but they also tend to receive lower wages than whites within each occupation.

In our analysis, we skillfully avoid to calculate the social rates of return to the black community in Jackson as because our data are very limited to take into account the social costs and returns. In principle, if the social benefits are higher than the social costs of education, then there is enough justification for public involvement in educational processes. More specifically, the fact that the education of each individual imparts benefits to society as a whole implies that a public subsidy of education is needed to avoid an underinvestment in education. The question now is what form should this subsidy take to provide an educational system that is equitable and most beneficial to the individual members of the society—irrespective of race and sex.

As discussed in Chapter 2, we have seen that the state financed higher education in Florida and California gives more benefits to the richer section rather than the poor, and the costs paid by the poor people are more than the benefits received by them. Also, it is apparent that schools as presently structured contribute very little to the reduction of initial inequalities in academic abilities.

There are many alternatives suggested by the critics to improve the public educational system, but neither of these alternative systems solves the basic problem of inequities in educational system between the black and the white, and the rich and the poor. In this chapter our scope is very much limited to discuss the alternative policies to eradicate inequities in the system of education. What we may conclude from the private rates of return to higher education of the black community in Jackson, is that blacks are still under-privileged at least in educational attainment and earnings associated with it, compared to the white people.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Schultz, T. W., "Capital Formation by Education," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 68, Supplement, October, 1966, Table 7.

[2] *Digest of Educational Statistics*, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973, Table 21, p. 21.

[3] Becker used the 1940 and 1950 Census data; Hansen used the 1950 Census and Hancock used the 1 in 1000 sample of the 1960 Census.

[4] However, Daniel C. Rogers concluded in his case study that education pays off for all people equally well, regardless of intelligence (at least, within wide limits). In his calculation he estimated that the difference in the life time earnings was only 14 per cent between the highest IQ and the lowest. He also added that the higher earnings for those with higher IQs are found at each educational level and are such as to make the internal rate of return to education remain highly unchanged as those with different IQs are compared. An explanation for this lies in the lower cost of foregone earnings for those with lower IQs (Daniel C. Rogers, "Private Rate of Return to Education in the United States: A Case Study," *Yale Economic Essays*, 1969, p. 128.)

[5] Hanock, G., "Personal Earnings and Investment in Schooling," *The Journal of Human Resources*, Summer 1967, p. 328.

IV

EPILOGUE

Part I

During the last fifteen years, there have been important advances in economic thinking with respect to investment in human capital. Like all important concepts, however, human capital has an intellectual history. Although, man's economic role was never considered to be his highest function, even in ancient Greece, Plato indicated the benefits of a trained citizenry:

> What I assert is that every man who is going to be good at any pursuit must practice that special pursuit from infancy . . . Besides this, they aught to have elementary instruction in all necessary subjects, the carpenter, for instance, being taught the use of rule and measure.[1]

The idea of human capital has not played an important role in the history of economic thought as it has been carried on in the English tradition. Both nineteenth and twentieth century economists treat labor as a homogeneous commodity. Nineteenth century economic ideas were found in the wake of the industrial revolution; machines were identical and their parts were interchangeable. Unskilled labor was also identical and interchangeable, but the division of labor and the increased use of machinery could allow unskilled labor to do whatever skilled labor had done in the past. Only physical machines could lead to increased output.

In the definitional aspect of human capital, opinions differed substantially. Very few of them considered human beings as capital. The noninclusion of human capital mainly stems from the fact that they are more preoccupied with the distribution of income and the theory of production within the traditional trio—such as land, labor and capital. However, the most prominent critic of the classical economists, Karl Marx, ignored human capital entirely. In a world of exploitation, capitalist snatched the laborer's surplus value away from him. Since subsistence determined labor's wages, labor could not gain by increasing its human capital.

The classical economists put more emphasis on the qualitative side of education rather than the quantitative one. From socio-economic point of view, they mainly relied on the moral aspects of education as they believed that most of the social crimes and the restiveness among people could easily be avoided if the educational facilities are wide open among the greater masses of the society. Purposefully, they avoided the quantitative measurement of education as they are mostly preoccupied with the consumption element of education rather than investment component.

The critical issue which divided the English political economists centered round the fact as to whether education should be financed and controlled by the government or not. From Adam Smith down to Pigou, there is a gulf of differences in opinions. The Smithian school strongly believes that education should be left in the hands of the private enterprise system on the ground that the public enterprise system, whatever be their merits, carried in themselves irremediable vices which they derived from their very nature—the failure of maintaining the execution of their purpose. State financial aid should be provided for the construction of the buildings, and other equipments but the salaries of the teachers should be paid by the tuition fees, no matter whether the students belong to a poor family or not. If the teachers are paid by the fees, they will be more productivity conscious for improving their teaching qualities so as to attract the greater number of students in the school. In other words, they emphasized more on the qualitative improvements of teaching and that improvement they believed could only be possible by the private enterprise system alone.[2]

On the other hand, the supporters of the public enterprise system strongly opposed against the privately run schools as they complained, even for a time, a private school could be operated, with no capital beyond the cost of the ticket in the window. In almost all cases, the private enterprise system is profit motivated, but education is a social good whose external economic benefits are immense in the society, and strictly from a socio-economic point of view, profit should not be the sole criterion to be dealt with in educational matters. However, the qualitative improvement of the teachers depends to a large extent, on the appointment of the good teachers with good salaries. But, unfortunately, the teachers' salaries are the low paid ones, and when other occupations failed, they crowded in this profession without any ambition and as a result, the quality of the teaching is highly affected.

The above controversy is a deep rooted one and there is no unique solution which can be presented on this matter. The duty of the government to protect children from ignorance is a proposition with which most people would agree. But, it is easily forgotten that, insofar as such proposition points toward a policy at all, there must be a number of suggestions still contradictory from person to person.

II

Neoclassical capital theory, especially as formulated by Irving Fisher is an essential starting point, as the concept of human capital owes much to the neoclassicals. This theory is further developed in the work of Solow, Meade, Swan and others in conjunction with the aggregate production function and the basic neoclassical postulates are accepted by Denison and others, whose analysis of modern economic growth and development is of importance from the point of view of the study of economics of education.

Mary Jean Bowman focuses some of the practical problems in making the measurement of human capital, especially the cost-based measurement. There are three main problems: the consumption-investment complex, the question of unemployment and the opportunity costs, and the undereducated—those who leave schools after a few years study and probably lapse into illiteracy. The focal point, which she emphasized is the measurement of net human capital in relation to earnings and productivity.

Most of the supporters of the investment in human capital theory have a view that a "rational" man is supposed to invest in an education for himself up to the point when the internal rate of return from that education is equal to the rate of interest reflecting his subjective time preference. But the available empirical data are not yet adequate for a choice to be made between the various contending hypotheses concerning the demand for education. It is true that earning factors do enter into decisions made by individuals about their education. It is just more probable, that people weigh up, in some crude and emotional way, various kinds of factors, and make a lunge at a decision.

III

The United States has traditionally invested heavily in the education of the youth and the long run effect has been one of gradually rising levels of education, whether measured by median years of school completed, proportion of the relevant age group in college or universities or rate of reduction in illiteracy.

The increase in schooling has been a relatively recent phenomenon. In fact, the age-distribution of the educational level of the work force (Table 1) suggests two important aspects of what might be called the "educational revolution."

First, the growth in educational attainment will probably

TABLE 1

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE 18 YEARS AND OVER, BY AGE, SELECTER DATES, 1952-1972

Date		18-24 Yrs.	25-34 Yrs.	35-44 Yrs.	45-54 Yrs.	55-64 Yrs.	65 Years & Over
Oct.	1952	12.2	12.1	11.4			8.3
March	1957	12.3	12.2	12.0			8.5
"	1959	12.3	12.3	12.1	10.8	8.9	8.6
"	1962	12.4	12.4	12.2	11.6	9.4	8.8
"	1964	12.4	12.4	12.2	12.0	10.0	8.9
"	1965	12.4	12.5	12.3	12.0	10.3	8.9
"	1966	12.5	12.5	12.3	12.1	10.4	9.1
"	1967	12.5	12.5	12.4	12.1	10.8	9.0
"	1968	12.5	12.6	12.4	12.2	11.1	9.3
"	1969	12.5	12.6	12.4	12.3	11.4	9.6
"	1970	12.6	12.6	12.4	12.3	11.8	9.6
"	1971	12.6	12.6	12.4	12.3	12.0	9.9
"	1972	12.6	12.7	12.4	12.3	12.1	10.2

Source: Manpower Report to the President, 1973.

slacken in the years ahead. Over time, older workers leave the labor force and the young people enter. The young have benefited from greater education, while the old have relatively little schooling. The replacement pattern, of educated for lesser educated, explains a great deal of the current steady increase in average schooling.

But in a few years this trend effect will lose its force, as the future older worker group comprises those who were early participants in the educational revolution. We can easily note in Table 1 the very strong growth in recent years of average schooling in the 55-64 and 45 to 54 age groups. Within a decade there will be little difference among age groups in years of schooling. Since there has been scarcely any growth in schooling for younger workers over the past generation, unless there is a new educational revoluttion, the future average schooling of the work force will remain more or less stable.

Second, the schooling data provide speculative insight into a probable source of an important modern social problem—the generation gap. Educational level differences can explain a great deal of the poor communication between old and young, to the extent education changes values, interests and view points. But happily, the same factors that will stabilize the average schooling of the labor force—increased education of the older workers —will also serve to remove schooling differences as a source of intergenerational misunderstanding.

IV

The American system of elementary and secondary education is one of non-transferable ration vouchers, along with a paternalistically motivated compulsory requirement for minimum consumption. Every child is entitled to free schooling. His ticket cannot be transferred to anyone else; there is no direct way in which one parent, by accepting less schooling for his child, can provide more for another.

In recent years support has been growing for an extended voucher system, under which the education voucher is usable in any approved school of the parents' choice, not just in public schools.

One of the effects of the present arrangement is to require high income parents who wish their children to have more or better education than the public school provides, to pay not only the extra cost but also part of the expenses of educating the children of the less affluents. In this respect the present system is a measure of specific egalitarianism. The proposed reform would shift the burden now borne by those who opt out of the public system to the society at large in higher taxes, or to the lower income consumers of public education in lower quality.

Reducing the cost of luxury education would no doubt increase the demand for it, and draw teachers and other resources into it, partly from the public schools, partly but more slowly from the rest of the economy. Whatever its other merits, principally in encouraging greater competition and innovation in the supply of education, the extended voucher proposal would increase the inequality of education. James Tobin strongly asserted, that in some instances, notably education, a specific egalitarian distribution today may be essential for improving the distribution of human capital, and earning capacity tomorrow.[3]

V

In the Constitution of the United States prior to the Fourteenth Amendment, blacks were counted as three-fifths of a man in the determination of a state's representation in Congress. In economic terms the black man even today is counted as three-fifths of a man, for this is the median income of the black, relative to that of the white.

Racial discrimination is a complex issue calling for analysis by social scientists from all fields. In our analysis we just explained the existing differences between the white and the non-white incomes and also examined critically the most important factors for this uneven distribution of income between the white and the non-white despite the same level of education. Just after the Civil Rights movement in 1964, the relative economic status of the non-whites improved significantly. The largest gains were made by the young black Americans with more education and skill. It was argued that even with the same level of education the quality of schooling differed very widely between the white and the non-whites. But, recently the relative quality of black schooling has risen very rapidly. It seems reasonable to expect that whatever social, political and judicial forces allowed convergence in offering to black and white students, also have allowed convergence in offering to black and white workers.

According to Finish Welch, two important characteristics have taken place between the black and white with respect to the quality of schooling.[4] First, not only have relative black incomes increased but the gain has been greatest for higher school completion levels. Second, the phonomenon of rising return to schooling is not only true in comparing black relative to white income but holds within the races as well; young blacks are better in comparison to young whites than do older blacks in comparison to older whites and schooling contains more of an income boost for young blacks and young whites than for older generations of their own races.

The internal rate of return of the black high school and college graduates in Jackson City is comparatively lower than that of the national average. This is due to the fact that the blacks in the southern areas earned always less than what they could have earned in other parts of the United States.

Within our sample and the census data, there is a difference in the internal rates of return for high school and college graduates owing to the differences in the median income earned by these graduates. The differences in the median income between our sample and the census data can be explained by various factors. First, the sample data are the most recent ones whereas the census data were collected in 1969. Within these years the blacks gained significantly in their earnings as explained by various researchers. Second, the sample data are very small in number and may be biased in favor of the higher income group—the possibility we cannot rule out. Third, the age distribution of our sample data concentrates around 25-44 age groups and within this group the rise in income of the blacks is relatively higher than that of the whites as found out by Welch and others.

The prospects of the young black Americans in the city of Jackson are bright so far as our data are concerned. The age-old discriminatory practices by the white community are decreasing over time, and some white collar jobs which were predominantly occupied by the white people were now distributed between the black and the white. Compared to the total needs of the black population in this city, black doctors, black engineers, black educators, black administrators, and black lawyers and businessmen are still proportionately lower compared to the white population. The overall advancement in progress and more economic participation of the black community in the city of Jackson can only be possible by the diffusion of quality and quantity of education among the black people in this area. It is not far ahead when the blacks can actively participate in the policy making forum of the city government and this is possible if the blacks can compete equally in all activities of the socio-economic-political life.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Plato, *Laws*, The Loeb Classical Library Series, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1926, p. 63.

[2] The same tune was also echoed by some of the modern economists when they strongly asserted that schooling should be provided by private organizations or firms, which could be interested in providing the kind of educational services demanded most by their clientele so as to maximize their profits. These facilities, instructional techniques, and teacher characteristics provide the kind of schooling most desired by the individuals in society and to develop their curriculum and employment procedures accordingly. It is doubtful, for example, that ineffective teachers would be retained solely by virtue of their seniority, as is often the case today with the tenure system. Diversity and experimentation would be encouraged solely just as innovation is fostered in other sectors of the economy by the lure of higher profits. If the justification of the government intervention are to equalize educational opportunities and to subsidize a socially inadequate level of private expenditures on education, then these objectives would be met under the government voucher system—a voucher that would be spent on education alone by the family just as food stamps currently used by millions of poor Americans. Government control of the schools themselves are unnecssary and indeed, undesirable.

[3] Tobin, J., "On Limiting the Domain of Inequality," *The Journal of Law and Economics*, October 1970, p. 77.

[4] Welch, F., "Black-White Differences in Returns to Schooling," *American Economic Review*, December 1973, Vol. 63, p. 907.

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POWER PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE CASE OF BLACK POWER

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The collective struggles of the non-elites for social rights is a phenomenon of the modern world. The notion of universal inherent and inalienable rights was created by the social philosophers of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe. This idea was captured in the French revolutionary slogan "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." In the nineteenth century it was formulated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* as the doctrine of class war. In *Das Kapital* Marx rationalized and systematized the case of the non-elites in a theory of economic materialism and an ideology of inevitable class conflict.

Hobsbaum (1959) described the struggles of Europe's non-elites prior to the Industrial Revolution as "primitive" and "reactionary" social movements. He observed that following the development of industry and the growth of modern cities, these struggles were carried forward by "modern" social movements that are characterized by large formal organizations, sophisticated techniques, and the demand for rights that had not yet been either possessed or enjoyed. In contemporary times we recognize these as the movements that represent the old and the young; the sexual, ethnic, and racial minorities; and the poor and powerless of every land. Diffusion, development and deprivation had signaled to them that change was possible and had motivated them to struggle for better times.

Hobsbaum might have reported also that all such movements are handicapped by lack of social power. This is true for two reasons. On the one hand, being poor and powerless, the sectors and categories represented by such modern movements command few reserves and sources of usable social power. And on the other, the social order of established institutions which constitute their opposition are usually powerful and well entrenched. As a consequence, the search for and mobilization of power must precede action to bring about social change.

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This paper addresses this problem of power mobilization in social movements. The task is approached in two related ways. First, a theory of social power and power mobilization appropriate to the investigation of social movements is formulated. And second, the theory is applied to the case of the so-called black civil rights movement in the United States.

A THEORY OF SOCIAL POWER

In 1967 Rose (43-53) reviewed a number of conceptualizations of social power. Two principal perspectives on power emerged from this review. From one social power is viewed as potential, an available capability of a social actor, and from the other, as active, a property of social relationship. The perspective of potential power is expressed in Weber's (1958:180) classic definition. He stated that power is "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action." When Weber spoke of "a number of men," he envisaged a collective actor in the "communal action." Power was perceived as the probability that these men commanded enough potential capability to gain their own way, if they were to mobilize this potential. If they decided to take this "chance" and exercise their capabilities, overt struggle might take place. However, Weber seems to imply that under certain circumstances the men may not take the chance and commit their potential power. Baldwin (1971:578-614) pointed out that the potential character of power is sometimes conceptualized by comparing it with "money," and de Dadt (1965:454-471) achieved the same end by calling it "aptitudes."

For the same perspective, Olsen (1970:3) pointed out that many writers perceive power as the ability to affect social activities. However, in this potential form power is perceived as not only the capability to control a decision that affects others; it is also equally the ability to prevent such a decision from being made. Bachrach and Baratz (1962 and 1963) call this power action "undecision." Thus they observe, social power has "two faces." In a study of black power in community decision, Banner (1975) showed that white community leaders in Knoxville, Tennessee not only controlled important decisions of the black subcommunity; but also prevented important issues from coming to public attention and being decided and acted upon.

The other perspective on social power portrays it as an active aspect of dynamic social life, a property of a social relationship.

Rossi (1956:425) perceived power as a relationship between social actors. Olsen (1970:2) envisaged power as "a process in social life." This perspective on the power relationship is implicit in Tinker's (1971:775-788) observation that the chief wielders of power must have the tacit assistance and cooperation of hundreds and even thousands of persons in order to exercise their power. Coleman (1973:1-17) put the matter this way: Actors are related to events in two ways—control of actors over events and consequences of events for actors.

From this perspective power may be conceptualized as a property or component of a social relationship. Simon (1953:500) conceptualized power as an "asymmetrical relation" between an "influencer" and an "influencee" that causes "some change of behavior." The influencer exercises (initially at least) more power than the influencee. Thus power in the relationship flows predominantly in one direction, although a power relationship is reciprocal. This view of the matter reflects the fact that influencer and influencee may switch roles in the course of the relationship. Crucially, Simon stresses the fact that win or lose, the application of power in a relationship will produce some change of behavior through a "feedback" process.

The foregoing discussion has indicated that social power has at least five salient characteristics. First, from one perspective power is seen to be potential, the capability of actors to overcome resistance and achieve ends. Second, such power involves chances or probabilities—on the one hand that the potential may or may not be mobilized and, on the other, that when mobilized it may or may not achieve the end sought. However, third, it is indicated that social power can be socially significant only when it is mobilized, active and exists within a social relationship. Social power also gains significance when it causes some social change. Fourth, power is exercised in a relationship as push and resistance. Actors play the roles of attacker and defender, of influencer and influencee in relationship to one another. Even though they may switch roles, the relationship unfolds as challenge and response, thrust and parry. And finally, some change of behavior always ensues from the commitment of power to social relations. The changes are sometimes latent, i.e., unintended and unrecognized. Often also, they may be dysfunctional, i.e., maladaptive to the relevant social systems.

Potential and Active Power

Potential power has been called the capability of an actor to overcome resistance and gain his will. But this capability exists as a property of a social phenomenon called a power resource. The actor must extract the power potential from the resource before he can use it. This operation is called mobilization. The range of phenomena that constitute power resources is very great indeed. Many students of the subject, e.g., Bierstedt (1950:730-738), Blalock (1960:53-59), Etzioni (1968:313-349), Olsen (1970:67), and Coleman (1973:1-17) have developed lists of power resources. Olsen (4) stated that these resources may include "tangible" goods, e.g., money, buildings and land, organizational members and equipment; and "relatively intangible" assets such as knowledge, legitimacy, values, skill and organizational entity. Coleman (1973:1-17) sees "control of events" as an important power resource. The wide range of particular resources can be summarized into the following five broad categories:

(1) Natural resources, including a society's territory,
(2) Numbers of people, especially adults,
(3) The economy, especially technology and material equipment and tools,
(4) The inclusive social organization, and
(5) The inclusive cultural system, including material as well as non-material items.

The phenomena that have value, and therefore constitute power resources, vary with both time and place. For example, in modern urban industrial societies, technology, heavy equipment, and financial credit are important power resources. In ancient societies with little technology and equipment, power was more likely to be derived from intangible social or supernatural sources. In 1850 an American cotton planter in an East Coast state might have regarded his slaves as an important power resource. The abolition of slavery abolished this power resource. Under the apartheid system of South Africa the teeming black population (numbering some 20 millions and several times larger than the white sector) as presently treated, constitutes a source of only limited social power **vis à vis** the white establishment.

The power options and possibilities of action of social actors vary with both the kind and amount of their resources. Thus Etzioni (1968:327) asserted that collective actors with more resources, particularly economic and coercive, are likely to command more options to use, save, invest or produce power than weaker actors. Non-elite categories who control few and limited resources have access to little power and few power options.

In spite of its promise, potential social power resides, dormant and inactive, within a resource much like physical power within plutonium. Once it is released from imprisonment within a host resource, social power becomes active and capable of performing tasks. It is active power that gains one's will, overcomes resistance, influences people, and causes change of behavior.

But active power cannot exist in a social vacuum. Once it is released from its host in a resource, it must find another residence. This new residence, host, is a social relationship. Once active power becomes part of a relationship it qualifies that relationship dynamically and consumes itself in social action.

In terms of its effect upon the outcomes of social actions, the amount of active power in a relationship may vary from just barely influencing to totally annihilating. The release of potential power from resources and the delivery of active power to social relations are accomplished by action patterns called tactics. A conflict tactic is a specific collective act which mobilizes and applies social power. The control and guidance of power-releasing and power-delivering tactics in social relations is managed by other action patterns called strategies. It is under such conditions that active power can gain one's will, overcome resistance, make changes of behavior, and influence decisions and choices.

The classic illustration of the relationship of active to potential power is contained in the story of Little David and Goliath, the Giant. Little David activated, augmented, and delivered his limited power with deadly effect before Goliath could mobilize his overwhelming potential. The collective actor who wishes to gain his own will, even against resistance; to implement action; or to change behavior, must control and activate power adequate to the task. For populous, natural-resource wealthy, technologically advanced, and well-organized actors, this may be easy since they already control huge power resources. For small, poor, economically backward actors, the prelude to action implementation is the search for and control of convertible power resources. Thus, for example, the blacks of South Africa must learn to perceive their teeming numbers as a resource of potential power that is convertible into active power. The Turks and Greeks in the Cyprus war of 1974 revealed another relationship between potential and active power. The Turks mobilized and committed their inferior military potential with devastating effect while the Greeks with superior military potential failed to get into action.

The Mobilization of Power

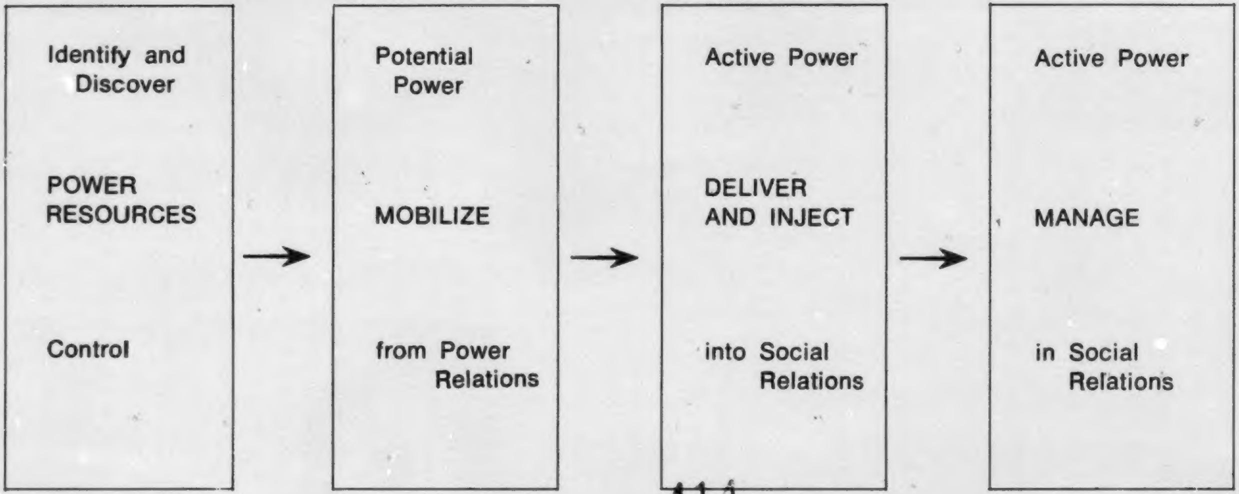
Potential social power is mobilized by collective actors in the course of struggling **against** collective opponents **for** scarce social values. The mobilization of potential social power involves two basic steps, the transformation of potential into active power, i.e., activation, and the application of active power to a relationship, i.e., delivery. The social tasks of applying tactics and mobilizing power are implemented by units of social organization. Any unit of social organization may be a power-mobilizing agent.

One crucial issue in the study of social conflict is the mobilization of power. That is, how do groups convert or mobilize potential power into active form, or more precisely, how do they extract the active power from power resources? The process is roughly analogous to extracting metals—e.g., gold, iron, or aluminum—from the ores which are their natural states. The mobilization of power takes place through a four-step process including (1) the identification, discovery, and control of available power resources, (2) converting potential into active power, i.e., extracting the active power from its potential form in resources, (3) use of tactical devices to deliver and inject this active power into an on-going relationship in a way and at a point where it will be effective, and (4) managing the relationship in order to ensure the desired changes. The relationships in this model are diagrammed in Figure 1.

Any tangible or intangible phenomenon of value can be a power resource in some society. All such phenomena, both tangible and intangible, are power resources because they are known or believed to contain the capacity to produce injury and/or damage. Thus they can produce social change. This inherent capacity to injure and damage is recognized as being potential, but is capable of being activated by application of appropriate tactics. Any phenomenon can become a power resource when it gains value. This relationship can be illustrated in various ways. For example, although it had been known for a long time that vast reserves of oil existed in the Middle East, oil became a power resource for the Arab nations only when they perceived that, if managed appropriately, it was capable of injuring or damaging the advanced societies of the West which they defined as frustrating opponents. However, in order to use this power resource, the Middle East nations had to wrest control from the advanced societies and develop appropriate tactics of mobilization and delivery.

Figure 1

DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE FOUR-STAGE MODEL OF POWER MOBILIZATION


Identify and Discover
POWER RESOURCES
Control
Potential Power
MOBILIZE
from Power Relations
Active Power
DELIVER AND INJECT
into Social Relations
Active Power
MANAGE
in Social Relations

The first task in power mobilization for conflict is the search for usable power resources. In some situations this search is clear and uncomplicated since some collective actors command important reserves of power resources. Search includes at least three related operations; identification of valued phenomena as possible resources, locating accessible supplies of such phenomena, and establishment of control over these reserves of resources. This search is fairly evident in wealthy advanced societies. When a modern nation prepares for war or defense against an alleged possible attack, it must first "mobilize." That is, the government must seek out and inventory accessible and usable reserves of manpower, necessary raw materials, appropriate modes of organization, tactical devices, and the like. These and other resources must be readied for immediate use.

Sometimes societies or groups have access to power resources of which they are not aware. For them the problem is failure to recognize available resources as such. It was in this connection that Karl Marx made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the phenomenon of power in modern industrial societies. He drew the attention of the proletariat to the fact that their numbers, and the labor that these numbers represented, constituted a power resource of great importance in the struggle with the bourgeoisie. Schechter (1963:49-57) explained how Mohandus Ghandi utilized the Indian minority population in South Africa in the years before and after World War I as the resource to mobilize countervailing political and economic power against the colonial regime of Jan Christian Smutz. This account is particularly instructive as regards the tactics of organization, control, and collective action required for mobilizing the power potential of a population.

In World War II when full military mobilization and high-level industrial production exhausted the traditional reserves of manpower in the United States, various marginal and dependent population sectors were perceived as sources of potential manpower. Thus women found important work roles in all branches of the armed forces. The elderly, the disabled and the racial and ethnic minorities were redefined as potential industrial and service workers. Shortages of metals, rubber and the like led to redefinition of used and scrap material as important. It seems likely also that the developing societies will continue to recognize human and natural resources, traditionally beyond their control, as power resources in the growing struggles against the advanced Western societies for liberation and self-determination. Thus, for example, in South Africa and Rhodesia, the black masses; in Latin America, oil and minerals; in Southeast Asia, rubber and tin may soon be seen as important power resources, and brought under control of the indigenous peoples in the increasing struggle against external domination. In the next section of this paper we will see how American blacks have manipulated the black masses as a source of potential power in their struggle against the white establishment.

Collective actors develop and apply standardized tactics for converting potential into active power. In the military field, troops, armaments, equipment, ammunition, and the like constitute potential power. These resources must be deployed in appropriate ways and activated, i.e., troops moving, armament firing, equipment operating, planes flying, etc. In this way military power is applied to the enemy.

A union may organize most of the workers in a certain industry. In preparation for negotiating a labor contract, the union may take a strike vote. Prior to opening negotiations, the union may also collect fees from its members for a "war chest" to support the men when on strike. The union membership, the strike vote, the war chest, as well as the labor of the organized workers constitute potential power. If the negotiations break down, the union may then activate this potential power by calling its members off the job, picketing the struck plants, soliciting public support, and using the war chest to support the striking workers. Such complex power operations function to deliver active power to an on-going relationship and to manage the conflict-power operation in order to ensure a successful outcome.

The range and variety of tactics for the activation and delivery of social power are almost unlimited. Thoreau, Gandhi, and King originated and utilized nonviolent withdrawal of cooperation as the main tactic for this purpose. Schechter (1964:49-57) and Tinker (1971:775-788) have described and analyzed the Gandhian tactic of "satyagraha." The rulers in any system must have the tacit cooperation of hundreds of thousands of the ruled in order to exercise power and gain their will. The central goal of noncooperation was to induce these hundreds of thousands of individuals to refuse to acquiesce in the power of the rulers. Once such cooperation is withdrawn, the power structure must come to terms with the resisters resulting in the political and social change sought in the struggle. Tinker (1971:775-788) pointed out that this process involved two power operations, a form of persuasion and a degree of coercion.

All such power-mobilizing tactics include numerous connections and coordinations, for each is a form and pattern of organized social behavior. However, as Etzioni (1968:326-327) recognized, each link and connection in this power-mobilization chain constitutes a possible source of inefficiency and waste in the conversion process. Such inefficiency and waste are important in all power-mobilization situations, but they can be serious for a weak actor engaged in conflict with one that has access to vast power resources. Baldwin (1971:145-155) points out that the cost of power mobilization must be taken into account also. Control of the power mobilization process, calculation of costs and reduction of inefficiencies constitute a continuing problem in most situations. Among the factors that may affect the outcome are power use policies, the quality of social organization, social planning and control as expressed in conflict strategy, and the tactics and commitments of the conflict ideology. Etzioni points out that the steps that serve to enhance the efficiency of power mobilization for conflict may also make a social system conflict prone.

Power-mobilization for social conflict requires management of the relationships involved to ensure that desired outcomes result. The masters of **satyagraha** and nonviolent noncooperation perceived this fact. Tinker (1971:775-788) revealed how it worked out under Gandhi's direction in India. Gandhi sought to legitimize his own group's position while directing public opinion against the opponent. This was accomplished when the third actor, the public or audience saw the resisters willing to suffer. As a consequence, the responsibility for conflict was thrust upon the opponent who was made to feel responsible and guilty because of the suffering of the resisters, initiating conflict actors. King (1963:30-45) described the delivery-control operation in the following way. He declared that through nonviolent direct action blacks sought to create so much crisis and tension that a community which constantly refused to negotiate would be forced to confront the issue and talk about it.

THE MOBILIZATION OF BLACK POWER

The mobilization of social power for social conflict can be illustrated in many ways. There are, however certain analytic advantages to be gained from examining the process in the experiences of the social movements that represent weak social sectors. Typically, such movements start from a minimal power position with access to limited power resources and imperfect mobilization tactics. In the experiences of these movements all the steps of the power mobilization process are brought into play and revealed. The literature permits us to examine this process with some clarity in the case of the black protest movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Typically, the black category was fixed in the American social structure at an inferior and collateral position. Legal sanctions, powerful customs, and entrenched habits perpetuated this arrangement. In time the structure became rigid and changed only little with the passing of the generations. In addition to status inferiority, the objective consequences of this structure included relative powerlessness, material deprivation, and sociopsychic resentment. The production and maintenance of inferiority and powerlessness were crucial tasks of the racial structure. The most evident effects of inferiority and impotence were low income and economic poverty, educational limitations and occupational unpreparedness, poor housing and neighborhood deterioration, and poor physical and mental health. This structural arrangement and its consequences were produced by the twin mechanisms of prejudice and discrimination.

This racial structure was the setting of frustration and aggression. Years of life under these conditions generated intense feelings of frustration, resentment, and hostility. Perceptive students of the black experience (Grier and Cobbs, 1968; and Hendin, 1969) report that inability to rectify these deprivations and frustrations tended to produce a state of "black rage." The overwhelming power advantage of whites issued from their near monopolistic control of the major power resources, natural resources, the geographic territory, the total population, the economy, the inclusive social organization, and the cultural system.

Traditionally, the leading black conflict organizations, e.g., the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Urban League depended on technical representatives and coalition building to mobilize the social power they needed. Lawyers, social workers, and public relations experts sought to generate and manipulate legal, human-relations, moral-guilt, and similar forms of secondary potential power. At the same time, these organizations undertook to build power-producing coalitions with white middle-class liberal organizations. However, the leaders of the new civil rights protest organizations recognized that they must have access to new and additional sources of social power. Martin Luther King, James Farmer,

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James Foreman, Stokely Carmichael and other leaders deliberately undertook the search for new power resources. They experimented with various phenomena and power-releasing and delivery tactics and, as King (1963:81) reported of the experience in Montgomery with the bus boycott they were sometimes surprised by the effects of their efforts. As Aberbach and Walker (1970:367 ff), Benson (1971:328-339), McCormack (1973:356-409), Gelb and Sardell (1974:507-531), and others have reported, this process of search and experimentation included the invention and diffusion of the concept and slogan "black power."

These experiences confirmed the conclusion that the power

Figure 2

Organization and Release Operations in the Mobilization of Black Power

I. Levels of Black Power Resources
  A. Numbers of people, the primary level
  B. Residual economic, political, legal, public-opinion, moral and coercive power, the secondary level

II. Power Release Operations
  A. Organizing black people
    1. Formal Organizations
    2. Mass participation activity patterns
  B. Power release operations
    1. Release of economic power
      Withholding—boycott and its variants
      Obstruction—sit-in, preventing ticket sales, obstructing construction
      Support—reverse boycott, concentrating in support of friends
      Accumulation—savings in banks, savings and loans, insurance companies, etc.
    2. Release of political power
      Elections—registration campaigns, bloc voting, coalitions
      Organization—standard parties, new forms, caucuses, convention, etc.
      Influence—lobby and pressure techniques
    3. Release of legal and court power
      Influence—law administration and enforcement
      Civil suit and injunctive relief
      Civil disobedience
    4. Release of public-opinion power
      Present the case of the cause to the nation
      Stimulate and encourage favorable attention to the media
      Information—statements, press conferences, publications, etc.
    5. Release of moral force
      Image—the posture of moral worthiness
      Accept (or invite) public display of unjust abuse by whites
      Platform—the core values and moral high ground
      Guilt—generate guilt feelings among whites
    6. Release power of violence or threats of violence
      As coercive force
      As catalytic of remedial action

resource most immediately accessible to blacks was the black population itself, some 20 millions in a population ten times as large. It was discovered that by mobilizing this power resource they could release and activate six kinds of active power; political, economic, legal, public-opinion, moral-guilt, and coercive. This view of the active components of black power is summarized schematically in Figure 2.

In order to mobilize the potential power inherent in the black population it was first necessary to organize and control the "black masses." Himes (1973:18) said that organization for mobilization of black power required: (1) inspiring and galvanizing the sacrificing individual power possessors, (2) fitting them into a division of labor by assigning to each a role he could understand and perform, (3) imposing control over relevant behavior and as soon as possible generating self-discipline, and (4) sustaining the morale and enthusiasm of the power-possessing, sacrificing individual actors.

The organization of blacks took two main expressions, formal organization and mass participation activity patterns. Some blacks were organized as members of formal associations like NAACP, CORE, and SNCC. Others were affiliated to formal nonmembership organizations like the National Urban League and SCLC. The second expression of organization was the "mass participation activity pattern." Typical illustrations include boycotts, demonstrations, bloc voting, and civil disobedience. These were indefinitely expansible action patterns providing places for participants as standardized parts. Many participants entered at the announced beginning time and left when the activity was terminated. Others came and left as they pleased.

The organized masses were employed to mobilize and commit the varieties of power listed in the figure and called by Power (1972:223-236) "civil protest" to differentiate them from "civil violence." In a boycott purchasers were asked to withhold their business from offending merchants, bus companies, or the like. In the relationship between boycotting blacks and the company, active power is used to overcome the resistance to discussing the contested issue and to work for a mutually satisfactory solution. A sit-in interferes with business as usual and so functions to activate potential power and inject it into a social relationship with the same effect. Organized, registered and bloc-voters can dominate or decisively influence elections which are closely contested. Recognition of this potential can affect relations between blacks and whites in the direction of facing issues and solving problems. Organized blacks in demonstrations—silent marches, public petition meetings or civil disobediences—can act out a good news story for the media. Such public relations are used in several ways to mobilize power. On the one hand, such symbolic and dramatic communications win friends for the cause and help to build coalitions with liberal white groups. On the other, they function to trigger embarrassment and guilt feelings among morally sensitive whites. In another tactical action poor blacks can accumulate their small savings in a building and loan company and thus create the capital that can be manipulated to overcome the resistance of large white lending agencies to serving black citizens. Each of these tactics functions in two ways in the power mobilizing process. First, it activates potential power and injects it into a black-white relationship, and second, it manipulates the active power in the relationship in a way to facilitate discussion of and solution of the problem at issue.

The tactics of power release tended to function as tactics of power delivery. Perception of this fact prompted Martin Luther King to speak of "direct action." The black masses who produced the social power also acted to inject it into critical relations with whites. The power activators were also the power delivery agents. In some other cases, as with the legal staffs of the NAACP, specialists performed the operations of power delivery.

By means of different, though related, tactical mechanisms power was manipulated in the relationship with whites. In this way the "influencer" could create an "asymmetrical" relationship with the "influencee" which resulted in some change of behavior. The change of behavior was the concession sought as the objective of conflict. Power was manipulated in this black-white relationship not only to force the community that refused to negotiate to confront the issue in contest, but to change its behavior in some respect as regards that issue.

Communication tactics accompanied by power injection gained attention for the account of deprivations and discontents that blacks wanted whites to recognize and understand. The other side of the message of deprivations and discontent was the catalogue of goals and objectives that blacks sought from change. The goals and objectives were packaged in specific requests and/or demands, usually presented as negotiable. A series of justifications accompanied requests and demands to make them appear as justified and reasonable. Power was managed in the relationship to gain attention for these messages, hopefully, to win a favorable hearing for them as well.

For example, a silent march and demonstration in any community might end at city hall where the leaders presented the mayor a list of grievances and demands. The celebrated March on Washington of 1963 ended at the Lincoln Memorial where in public orations all the participating leaders stated the aims and hopes of the tactical exercise.

Other tactical mechanisms, supported by active power, sought to initiate a process of negotiation. Within the socially approved tradition requests and demands were presented as pleas and petitions for consideration. The aim was to initiate a process of discussion or negotiation that would end in concession or compromise. Blacks offered racial peace, support of the basic values, active participation in the general racial system in a trade-off for the goals and objectives they had set out. This power-qualified process of negotiation was cast in a rhetoric of reasonableness, compromise, and peacefulness. The King technique required all these power operations to be conducted in the posture of "nonviolence."

Under other circumstances, the power operation was combined with the tactic of confrontation. Communication was clothed in a rhetoric of defiance and threats. The posture of request and demand was rigid. Demands were declared to be "non-negotiable." The white establishment was offered the options of conceding to the demands set forth or suffering the threatened consequences. Early on in the movement confrontation was seen as a last resort tactic after less militant and more traditional mechanisms had been exhausted and failed. Later, though, when the ideology of "black power" had become widely accepted, confrontation acquired a standing and justification of its own. It sometimes was the tactic of first resort, chosen in place of the traditional tactics which were denigrated or rejected. Confrontation became a favorite tactic of black university students in their struggles with putative discriminating officials. An important building or sensitive facility would be occupied. The students' representatives faced the administration with a set of "non-negotiable" demands with the insistence that they be acceded to by a deadline date or they (the students) would perpetrate certain non-specific damages. The aim was to produce specified changes without negotiation, since, in unhappy past experiences, they had learned that the university officials could out-talk them.

The ultimate tactical accompaniment of active power in social relations was violence. The relationship was accompanied by and qualified by intentional acts of injury or damage. In these situations violence was a communication mechanism, designed to initiate a substantive process of communication and exchange. Himes (1973:23) points out that violence is not itself the change-producing tactic. It is rather an intermediary, attention-gaining, communication-mobilizing device. Substantive change issues from the more ordinary processes of negotiation, persuasion, and compromise that are set in motion by violence. The function of violence in the power-change nexus is illustrated in the account of an encounter following the Watts riot of 1965. Rustin (1966:29-35) describes the reactions of a black youth in Watts just after the massive riot. While talking to Rustin about the events, he exclaimed, "We won!" In astonishment, Rustin pointed to the death and destruction in the area and demanded to know what they had won and how. In reply, the youth explained that they won because they had made the mayor, the chief of police and the whole world pay attention to them and their plight.

It has been difficult if not impossible to measure the relative power mobilized by blacks in support of their struggles for change. A few studies have reported reasonable estimates of the effect of black power in selected urban communities. Baron (1968) attempted to estimate the effect of black power in Chicago and concluded that it was only marginal and became really significant in influencing important community decisions only when augmented through coalitions with various white organizations. After a study of the Welfare Rights Organization in New York, Gelb and Sardell (1974:507-531) concluded their poor black organizations could influence decision-making only when supported by coalitions and when "key actors in the political system are sympathetic." From a study of decision-making in Knoxville, Tennessee, Banner (1975) found that alone, black organizations could not insure that their concerns would get on the community agenda for discussion and decision, and, once on the agenda, that they would win a favorable decision. To guarantee such outcomes, Banner concluded that blacks needed the support of local coalitions and the intervention of federal agencies and finances.

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SPECIAL ADDRESSES

RESEARCH IMPERATIVES IN A SMALL COLLEGE

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The small college, today, is in the throes of expectancy with regards to its effectiveness, viability and survival at a critical time of limited resources and patronage. This problem of survival is dependent on how well a college demonstrates its **effectiveness** in terms of its management, income production and educational process; its **uniqueness** in respect to its innovative quality programs and services; its **viability** in regards to its demonstrable responses to social change, new knowledge and practices; and its **steadfastness** in the fulfillment of public service functions. A satisfactory fulfillment of these indices accords the college a measure of visibility and credibility and assures it a reputable status in the society that it seeks to serve.

With the increasing problems of support and facility, both financial and moral, public and institutional, the small college faces an uphill task in the promotion of its visibility and credibility toward effectuating its mission, services and its very existence. This crisis is doubly acute for those colleges that are small and predominantly black. The predicament of this group of small colleges calls for every help that can be given, including the neglected help that they can give themselves. With a history of perennial impoverishment, in terms of equality of access, aid and participation in the general scheme of American higher education, these institutions are currently faced with an enigma that concerns not only their survival in this scheme, but also their viability and significance as accredited institutions of higher education. The imperative, therefore, seems to be that of engaging in "a process of organizing a re-appraisal of what one writer calls, "the defects of their qualities as well as the qualities of their defects." Unfortunately, there has not been an encouraging history and documentation of research carried out to this end within these institutions by faculty, administrators and students. Research on institutional life and progress as well as additions to the broader fund of knowledge has been scarce. Rather, contentment has been shown in the avid consumption of research done elsewhere.

Although numerous studies and reports have been made of these institutions, they have been carried out by outsiders who invariably emphasized the problems of plight and condition. These external studies have applied many epithets, (to describe the small black colleges) ranging from "invisible" to "developing" along a continuum that suggests a progressive movement "from tragedy to promise" and/or "from isolation to mainstream" through a vicarious existence "between two worlds." Indeed one of these studies admitted the following as a conclusion:

> Actually, no one has understood clearly what Negro education has been or what purpose it has served—whether it has been preparation for life in a Negro America or in white America; whether it has been a ritual or an attempt to achieve genuine experience. No one knows what the true merits and capabilities of the historically Negro College or their students over 100 years have been, for they have been bound by limitations composed by law and customs.

(Bowles and DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds,* 1971, p. 213-14)

Some questions come to mind here:

1. Do we agree with this summary view from a 1971 Carnegie commission on Higher Education Report?
2. Do we who are a part of these institutions know what their purposes and capabilities are? If we don't know, what have we done about it? What steps have we taken to articulate and publicize Paine College to the other society!

The answer is the number one research imperative! This small college has had professors, since it was founded in 1882, who have been teaching history, and yet have not carried out research within their academic discipline. what about the sociologists? Have they studied the impact of the institution on the community that it purports to serve? What kind of visibility and credibility has Paine College enjoyed since it came into existence? What has been the quality of its graduates and the value of the education they have received? In other words, how effective has been the educational process here as measured by the feedback of its graduates? Have such findings influenced the college curriculum? These and similar questions come within the purvue of all the various academic disciplines.

I submit the part of the problem of invisibility that a small black college has is traceable to its own neglect and inactivity in studying itself and its activities and in publicizing these. How many outstanding programs, workshops, and achievements have gone unpublicized? How many research projects and papers read at professional meetings have found their way into the widely read scholarly journals in the disciplines? These efforts help to enhance institutional visibility as well as the credibility and professional standing of its faculty and administrators.

The current problems of black colleges are those of image. For long they have been projected aggressively to the public as deprived institutions that specialize in crisis management of limited resources. Surprisingly, there is yet to be published a research study of the methods and strategies used by these institutions. Results of such studies will be welcome indeed as the nation gropes for ways of managing its new economy of limited means, variously referred to as "shortfalls" or "shortages."

The Black College has been in the educational vanguard in terms of cost effectiveness in respect to (1) producing graduates at lower cost, and (2) providing more services using a minimum of equipment, facilities and personnel. In short, graduates of black colleges have been given more for their money in terms of services. These are homegrown truths deduced from the evidence of scarce sources with which these colleges have had to work for many years. It can, therefore, be inferred that black colleges handle their students more efficiently and more economically. It can also be inferred that despite the lack of ready availability of instructional materials, black colleges are able to cover basic subject-matter content. But, we need well-designed studies to document these and other accomplishments (such as use of multi-ethnic approaches to teaching, education for citizenship, and interracial relationships in higher education, etc.)

For long the larger public has sought to ascertain justifications for the black college. To this end there have been many ready answers which have no basis in authentic research. Perhaps, there is a research imperative here—to carry out a study that will attempt to answer the questions, What has American Society to offer the Black College? This will help transfer the burden of proof from the black college to the society which the college serves. For in the final analysis a college or university is essentially a public social institution, whether it is privately or publicly controlled or supported.

Widespread black consciousness of the last few years, and exposition of the black experience, has been a positive contribution to the entire society. An assessment of Black Studies programs, that flourished as a consequence, however, call for the pursuit of more vigorous and systematic inquiries into the histories, institutions, and characteristics of peoples and societies of African ancestry. A qualitative concern for the education and life of black people and the application of scholarly and technical skills to their needs and problems must be fostered necessarily as a leaven for the transformation of the black community. An equally compelling perspective for the future of these studies is the development of new orientations, methodologies and philosophies of criticism requisite for realistic investigation and sound scholarship.

An endemic problem of the black college and its constituents is that too much is taken for granted about their importance. And yet formal education remains a significant objective of black people and a big value in the black community. There is additional need for research that will assess the fulfillment of black colleges' missions and historic roles and the significant shifts that have occurred in black higher education to date. There must be a concern for studying the characteristics, effectiveness, efficiency and prospects of the black college. These investigations can best be carried out by those within these institutions who are intimately knowledgeable and sensitive.

The uniqueness of the Black College as a special breed among colleges and universities demands much research-based documentation to increase its visibility. One important imperative toward this end is faculty research that enhances good teaching. The instructional functions must not only acquaint the student with a general comprehension of the intellectual and creative resources of man, but also the process whereby knowledge accumulates and creativity is encouraged. This is the meeting ground between research and teaching and it makes both complementary. While research seeks to serve society through the expansion of the "body of concepts and understandings which constitute the current stock of man's knowledge," teaching is designed to prepare the student through the use of knowledge and the development of skills for practical application and development of knowledge in society. Teaching, therefore, is sustained by research, and research is stimulated by teaching. What could be better for the small black college than to have its faculty and students engage in research as part of the classroom experience! As Joseph Himes puts it, "the roles of a teacher as a researcher and scholar contribute to the effectiveness of the teaching function because the teacher can involve his students in the excitement and action of his discipline if he is engaged in research activities."

There are, to be sure, other faculty roles besides those of teacher and researcher. These roles are a part of the college's public service function—via the development of the practical application of knowledge so that such knowledge may be employed in the physical, material and spiritual well-being of man; critical evaluation of the performance of the institutions of society; the preservation and demonstration of creative accomplishment; continuing education of individuals in knowledge and creative activity; and provision of advice and counsel to other social institutions.

The twin roles of a critic and consultant are grounded in research and the application of research. A faculty member who takes these roles seriously acquires a type of vitality that serves as an abiding motivation for his students.

In many ways, therefore, the pursuit and encouragement of research on a small black college campus are a boom to the visibility and credibility of the college and its constituency. The enrichment and excitement to teaching and learning that will result justify such a policy and institutional commitment. Institutional renewal, planning and development are buttressed by research. The development and professional growth of institutional personnel are enhanced by reseach. At a time of hallowed respect for competency-based efficiency and effectiveness, the small black college has no other recourse than to encourage research on its campus.

This is where the Consortium on Research Training comes in—to encourage faculty research, through a cooperative effort involving sixteen black institutions. The purpose of this consortium is to increase research competencies in both faculty and students on member campuses.

Because of limited resources and other problems, most of these institutions tend to assign research and its concomitant activities a low priority. Through the efforts of CORT, we hope to reverse this situation in the humanities and the social sciences.

The aim is to generate a research stimulus and growth factor for both teachers and students. We believe that such an effort will not only improve the quality of teaching and learning on these campuses, it may also increase the possibility that these teachers and students will make significant contributions to both their institutions and the general community.

To this end, the Consortium holds three consortium-wide research training sessions annually. Participating in each four-day workshop are some forty faculty members from member institutions of the Consortium. Additionally, each college is requested to conduct two research training workshops on its campus for interested faculty and students. Participants are encouraged to initiate research projects, individually, in groups, or institution-wide, which can be supported by CORT. The goal is the development of significant and meaningful research, as well as research training components on all campuses in the Consortium. The multiplier effect of this accelerated stimulation and scholarly effort must be an increased desire for teacher participation and the graduation of students (the future researchers and writers) who will consider research worthwhile and rewarding.

RESEARCH, WRITING AND PUBLICATION: AN IMPERATIVE FOR COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TEACHERS[1]

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In considering the topic before us this evening, I would like to focus on the following questions.

1. Why should research and publication have high priority for college and university teachers?
2. Who should do research?
3. What kind of research should be done?
4. What is the special role and contribution of small predominantly Black colleges and universities in the Southeastern United States?

Why Do Research?

When I consider the imperatives for college and university teachers, both classroom teaching and research are indispensable. They are also equally important and mutually interdependent. There are other things teachers are required to do including university service, professional and community service. But teaching and research are central. Thus, I reject the contention that these two activities are in conflict with each other, or that one should have higher priority than the other in any type of educational institution.

Research, therefore, is viewed in this discussion not in isolation, but as a complement to teaching and other role responsibilities of faculty members.

There are then four major reasons why research, writing, and publication should be meaningful aspects of the workload, production, and evaluation of all faculty members, whether in large research universities and graduate centers, or in small, liberal-arts colleges or teacher-training centers.

1. First the process of systematic, logical analysis and communication and the ideas deriving from these processes are at the heart of what it means to be educated. They are also at the heart of what it means to educate others.

In my own experience, I have never been so informed on developments in the literature of my profession as when I have had to prepare a paper, comment on someone else's paper, or develop a research program of my own. In other words, a teacher reads the literature much more carefully and, in theory at least, learns more when he or she has an active, rather than a passive, participation in the subject matter.

2. Secondly, an active research involvement on the part of a teacher provides very beneficial learning experiences for the students. This is especially true if students are actively involved in the faculty person's research.

More and more it is becoming clear to me that collaborative work among faculty and students, both graduate and undergraduate students, is a powerful and grossly underappreciated means of pursuing research.

John Blassingame, the author of *Black New Orleans, The Slave Community,* and other works, has a long term assignment as editor of *The Frederick Douglas Papers.* Already, a number of technical papers have been produced for this project. In a recent discussion, Blassingame informed me that there are no graduate students associated with this project. The bulk of the research assistance is provided by undergraduate students.

This experience has convinced him that if faculty members are willing to spend the extra time in orientation and supervision, undergraduate students can make a major contribution both to their own learning and to the advancement of knowledge through their participation in organized faculty research.

At a recent meeting of the Maryland Psychological Association, the five top awards for student research papers were earned by five undergraduate students, and in a contest situation wherein the overwhelming majority of students are white, it is significant to observe the two black women tied for third place, and one black man won first place. Since two of these students were Morgan State University undergraduates, we were all very proud of them —not only the students, of course, but of their teachers as well.

3. A third major reason why research should be built into the job description and job performance of all faculty members is that research and its communication has enormous benefits for other teachers and scholars. All of us who are teachers have an obligation not only to continue learning ourselves and to teach our students, but also to make some contribution to the knowledge base of our colleagues as well.

College and university administrators should be especially sensitive to the need for collegial mutual education.

4. A fourth reason why a sustained program of research is necessary is that it enhances the image and reputation of the faculty members and the institution in the eyes of students, potential students, parents and friends of the institution, as well as funding sources, both public and private.

(A recent NSF grant for $217,000 to Morgan State University is a case in point.)

WHO Should Do Research?

There is a widely-held view which is largely myth that research is the special province of graduate faculty members in the large research universities. There are two facts about this which may come as a surprise to some students. First, not all faculty members in these institutions are engaged in research. Indeed, if you go to the annual meetings of your professional association, you will be surprised to learn how frequently the same persons give papers year after year, and often more than one paper at the same meeting. It is also striking how small is the total number of persons in a given profession who have active research and publication programs.

It has been estimated that among the colleges and universities, in the nation as a whole, only about forty percent of faculty members hold the Ph.D., the traditional research degree, and among this number, less than half engage in active research after their dissertation. Apparently, the situation is not improving even in the large research universities. David Riesman, writing in the April, 1976, issue of *Change* magazine, observed that, "a new academic provincialism" has evolved among graduate faculty which is "characterized by hostility to research and the courting of student popularity." This trend, according to Riesman, "threatens the future of quality graduate education."

Riesman has further observed that such faculty members "would hardly provide models for their undergraduates to pursue the Ph.D."

Continuing, Riesman observed that "The emphasis on graduate programs makes it appear as if research were the favorite activity of professors, with teaching the least onerous way to subsidize a life of research. Reacting to this, many voices have proclaimed that there ought to be a shift toward teaching by changing the balance of incentives and the nature of faculty evaluation. But the fact is that there are large numbers of faculty who do no research even at major universities and university colleges, even when they have succeeded in lowering teaching loads for that purpose. Carnegie Commission surveys and other data indicate that many Ph.D.'s do virtually no serious research after securing the doctorate, and have no plans for any."

(St. Clair Drake on one book authors)
(Seedbeds of scholarly activity)

What Kind of Research Should Be Done?

What I am advocating, then, is a program of research for every faculty member. For most people, such a program will need to be modest in scope, utilizing undergraduate students, and utilizing the college and the surrounding community as research sites.

When we come to the question of what kind of research should be done, the first answer must be whatever research a faculty member wants to do, so long as it is well done and well communicated and of significance to others.

When we think of social research with particular relevance to the conditions of Black people in America, a long list of topics cry out for investigation. Some of these are the following: What are the distinctive learning and teaching styles most effective within black institutions? How is the learning environment within these institutions affected by the presence of non-black faculty and students? What is the meaning of the changes in the structure of race relations as reflected in the lives of students and staff members within these institutions? What is the impact of economic changes on the learning behavior of students? What are the changes in the structure of educational opportunity as reflected in the lives of these students? What are the dynamics of social stratification as reflected in the lives and experiences of faculty and students? How may scientific talent be enhanced among black students? What are the sources and evolution of creativity as reflected in the contribution of black Americans to music, dance, drama, the plastic arts, and athletics? What are the dynamics of cultural and ethnic pluralism? What is the nature of the relationship among black families, black childhood, and black achievement in America?

Such a list, of course, is only suggestive, but these are matters which cannot be left to others. They are matters which require the concerted attention of faculty and students in the predominantly black colleges.

One of the best examples of why studies of these sensitive questions cannot be left to others is suggested by contemporary research on the relationship between family and higher education.

In the field of higher education, there are two ideas against which we must struggle with constant vigilance. They are as follows:

First, the idea that black people now have equality of educational opportunity with whites and, therefore, the need for extraordinary measures of indemnification has past. This idea is so prevalent in some of the most highly respected intellectual circles, that black educators and black parents and friends of black education are becoming downright defensive about programs of special effort within white institutions and about the need for predominantly black institutions. When we are thinking clearly, however, it is clear to us that such special effort and special institutions will be required for as long as inequality exists. And, the challenge for all of us who believe in equality is to strengthen those special efforts and special institutions and insist that our governments, at the local, state and federal levels, redouble their efforts in this regard rather than allow them to retrench from the commitment of the early 1960's.

A second idea is that black youth come to higher education with gross educational deficiencies because their parents have not prepared them for higher education. Indeed, the relationship between families and higher education for black Americans is one of the most misunderstood and sometimes deliberately confused relationship in the whole arena of higher education. Again, it is often argued in some of the most sophisticated intellectual circles, that black families are responsible for the difficulties their children face in getting an education in the lower grades and in preparing for higher education. Often the research which supports this idea, through exercising highly sophisticated methodologies, rests on racist assumptions and conjectures which are no less destructive because of their gentility.

Thus a prominent psychologist recently concluded that the falling test scores among American children on standardized tests may be attributable to factors within the family rather than in the educational system.

Indeed, this highly acclaimed and widely-reported study by Dr. Zajonc of the University of Michigan published in a reputable science journal observes the following:

> "While it is difficult to determine how big a factor family configuration plays in the drop in test scores; we estimate that 30% to 50% of the drop can be attributed to it."

Now let me ask you what kind of science is that? He admits that he does not know the effect of family on test scores, then proceeds to guess that the effect must be somewhere between 30% and 50%, but if he does not know the effect, might it not be 10%, 5%, or 0%?

This expert is not content to blame the family generally for falling test scores, but proceeds, as do many of his colleagues, to blame the black family particularly. And, this is how he reasons his way into blaming black families. He says:

"Family size and the spacing of children are the chief factors causing a decline of test scores."

Then he continues:

> "According to census figures, blacks tend to come from larger families with children born at much shorter intervals than whites." "A missing parent," he continues, "adversely affects intellectual development and, in proportion, more blacks are in single-parent homes than are whites."
>
> "It would be surprising if these differences in family configurations between whites and blacks were not seriously implicated in the differences sometimes found between these groups in intellectual test performance." (Baltimore News American—April 28, 1976).

It would be surprising, but might it not also be surprising if these factors were found to have a bearing on test scores or test scores had a bearing on educability?

A much sounder and less slippery analysis of the relationship between family and education has recently been conducted over a six-year period by the Educational Testing Service. Dr. Virginia C. Shipman, also a psychologist, has recently reported that more than 1000 children, most of them black from poor neighborhoods, were examined from the time they were three or four years old through the third grade. In 18 studies pub-

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lished from this data, these researchers are concerned about how the home and the school might work together to influence the children's development. Their preliminary findings show that contrary to what other studies have concluded, black children and poor children enter school with as broad a range of abilities and have as much self-esteem as any other group. Moreover, these researchers found that these poor black children came from home environments with the same range of positive and negative influences on learning as their middle-class counterparts do. The problem comes, however, after these children enter school. By the third grade, they have experienced a significant drop in the level of their self-esteem and in their academic performance. These researchers state, "It gets down to what happens in the classroom between the teacher and the child." (Baltimore Evening Sun—April 27, 1976)

Now those of us who know black families well are not surprised but are hardened by these findings. For we know from experience and observation that black parents, even in poor black families, have imparted to their children very positive conceptions of themselves. Moreover, we know that these parents have imparted to their children high aspirations and motivation for education. Indeed, black families place a much higher value on learning than do other families. For they know from experience that learning and improving one's capacity for academic achievement is the single most effective means by which an oppressed people may improve their condition and struggle towards their own liberation. Moreover, black families know again from their own experience that education and learning will enable young and old people alike to advance the level of civilization in the world more than any other means.

The Role of Black Colleges

I would like to conclude this presentation with some brief observations on the peculiar role of small predominantly black colleges and universities at this particular time in our history. In my view, if these institutions are to be strengthened so as to enhance the contribution they make to higher education, organized and systematic faculty research must be given higher priority by external funding and governing sources, by the administrations of these institutions and by the faculty members themselves. The tendency to assume that teaching is the primary responsibility of these institutions and research should be done by somebody else must be abandoned by all of us.

Each of these institutions, no matter how small, has the potential of becoming a major repository and center of communication for information on the history, contemporary status, and future development of black people and race relations in America. Indeed, a great deal of widely publicized misinformation on these topics can be corrected by the self-conscious development of research data by each of these colleges. Some people really believe, for example, that black people have made no substantial contribution to the cultural vitality of this nation. Some believe that blacks are approaching parity with whites in a wide variety of fields, including education, politics, employment, availability of health care, and the like. It would require no large research grant for a small group of faculty members and students to make outstanding contributions to knowledge in each of these and related fields.

Thus, while black colleges are being called upon to teach larger numbers of black students, increasing numbers of non-black students, and to educate the general community, it would be a mistake to overlook the strategic necessity and opportunity for these institutions to make lasting contributions to knowledge, even in the face of cutbacks on external funds, by the careful development of a limited range of faculty and student research programs.

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[1] Presented to the Consortium on Research Training Workshop in New Orleans, Louisiana. Dr. Billingsley is President of Morgan State University.

CORT–SPONSORED RESEARCH PROJECTS, 1975-76

Alcorn State University

Peter R. Malik, "Relevant and Local History for Instructional Use"

George A. Sewell, *Mississippi Black History Makers*

Mamie M. Booth, "Gaines' Blues"

Belinda Griffith, "Black Approaches to the Instruction of French"

Michael Willey, "Availability of Black Literature in Textbooks and Libraries in the Elementary and Junior High Public Schools of Claiborne, Jefferson, Harrison, and Warren Counties"

Paul Moe, "Phonetic Flash Cards"

Paul Moe, "An Intrinsic View of a Norwegian-American Essayist"

A. M. S. Zahural Hague, "Annual Bibliography of Mississippi Folklore"

A. M. S. Zahural Hague, "Black Folk Humor From Mississippi"

E. F. Hjermstad, "The Interpretative Responses of Educable Mentally Retarded Subjects and Normals Utilizing Textual and Non-Textual Linguistic Clues to Create a Closure: An Exploratory Study"

Barber-Scotia College

Marion Boyd, "A Survey of Factors that Limit or Impede Activities of Certain Citizens in Cabarrus County"

Aldon Coefield and William Washington, "Comparative Health Practices in Cabarrus County"

Willa Harris and Jake Harris, "Freshmen Test Scores as Predictors"

Carl Herring, "The Impact and Significance of Mirror Counseling"

Timothy Johnson, "Profiles of Outstanding Graduates of Barber-Scotia College"

James Lyons, *In the Beginning, Faith: A History of Barber-Scotia College.*

Jocelyn Lyons, "Parental Involvement in the Education of their Pre-School Age Children"

Mable P. McLean, "Essays and Speeches: A Mini-Cassette Library"

Femi Ojo-Ade, "25 Year of Publication: Analytic Index of Presence Africaine"

Deva Sharma, "Life and Work of a Black Physicist"

Talat Sultan, "Factors Determining the Selection of a Major Field: A Comparative Study of Two North Carolina Institutions of Higher Education"

Frank Williams, "Law Enforcement Practices on Traditionally Black College Campuses"

Claflin College

Mary Felder, "The History of Claflin College"

Jose M. Goicoechea, "The Geography of Rope"

David W. Hodgson, "Jay Stowell's Methodist Adventures in Negro Education: An Evaluation of an Historical Source"

Arnitha T. Butler, "An Analysis of the National Teachers Examination Scores of 1975 Graduates of Claflin College as Compared to Their Cumulative Averages at the College"

Douglas W. Johnson, "The African (Augustinian) Roots of the Adoptionist Controversy"

Geneva B. Williams, "Black Female Musicians—A Selected Group"

Jackie Whitted, "Life and Times of Blanche Kelso Bruce"

Stella T. Smith, "Metaphor, Image, Structure, and Sound in Shakespeare Sonnet 73"

Mary W. Harris, "Dominance of Love in Racine's Tragedies"

David Siskin, "An Appraisal of Claudio"

Robert Kirsch, "Domestic Intelligence Activities: The Eisenhower Years"

College of the Virgin Islands

Jerome McElroy, "Consumer Expenditure Patterns: A Survey of St. Thomas U. S. Virgin Islands"

Earl Mortensen, "The Relative Effectiveness of Traditional and Individualized Methods of Instruction in Relation to the Student's Level of Independence in the U. S. Virgin Islands"

Henry Heald and Sally Fechtmeyer, "The Play and Games of Elementary School Children in the U. S. Virgin Islands in Relation to Development of Competence"

Florida Memorial College

Claire M. Orson and William Osborne, "Perceptions of White Faculty, Staff and Students on Black College and University Campuses"

Leroy Thompson, Rosa Gaskins and Mary Pawelkop, "Black Floridian Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Checklist of Ten Florida Natives"

Jesse Silverglate, Clarence L. Cryer and Sandra Taylor, "A Study of the Impact of Greek Letter Fraternities and Sororities on Predominantly Black College Campuses"

Zdzislaw P. Wesolowski, "An Analysis of the Contribution of Karol Adamiecki to the Theory of Scientific Management"

Robert Grant, "A Study of Black Faculty at Predominantly White Institutions in Florida"

Richard Kuhn, Maria Gonzalez and Trudy Hoo, "A Comparative Behavioral and Attitudinal Study of American and International Students"

Huston-Tillotson College

Lamar L. Kirven, "Black Texans and the Fourteenth Amendment: The Struggle For First-Class Citizenship"

Merle Miles, "Bibliographic Research of Sociological Literature on Black People"

Helen Miller and Lenora D. Waters, "The Efficacy of Various Communication Skills with Students Outside Mainstream"

Ronald J. Perrote, "Feasibility Study of Developing a Continuing Education Component at Huston-Tillotson College"

Jenny Lind Porter, "Elisabet Ney at Liendo Plantation"

Bobbye Williams, "A Socio-Linguistic Study of the Language and Culture of the Students from Iran as These Factors Bear on Their Academic Development at the College"

Rosalee Wingate, "Students Helping Students — A Double Bonus"

Jarvis Christian College

Withell McGill, "The Effects of Oral Language Instruction on the Speech and Reading Performance of Disadvantaged Children Ages 3 to 6"

Lee R. Hensley, "Bars, Taverns, and Cocktail Lounges"

Doris P. Rutherford, "Current Trends in Faculty Status for Professional Librarians in Predominantly Black Colleges"

Lorene B. Holmes, "Business Puzzles for Busy Teachers"

Diljit Kaur Chatha, "Melville's *Pierre* as a Book of Sacred Truth"

Pritpal S. Chatha, "The Role of Foreign Capital in Brazil"

B. B. Wellmon, "A Bicentennial Oral History Project"

Lane College

C. P. Boyd, "The Sociological Implications of Louis Jordan's Music"

Anne Cooke, "Indexing Alumni Quarterly"

N. Debnath, "Private and Social Returns to College Educations: A Case Study of Lane College Graduates"

Morris Fair, "Alumni Graduates"

Diane Faulk, "A Task Analysis Approach to Curriculum Building by Identification of Current Occupation of Graduates"

Portia Hegmon, "Lane College Reading Program: An Effectiveness Follow-Up"

C. Marshall, "A Proposal to Evaluate the Competitiveness of Lane College's Business Department"

H. Phillips, "The L. C. Tree: An Oral History Project of Lane College"

Louis Purham, "A Comprehensive Study of Employment Opportunities in West Tennessee"

Clara Hewitt, "Upward Bound as a Positive Intervening Variable in the Expected Earning Power of Potential High School Drop-Outs"

Langston University

Denyvetta Fields, "Langston University: An Oral History"

Elizabeth Kendall, "Influences of the Regional Background on a Student's Ability and Ease in Learning German"

Juanita Goff, "The Profile of Langston University Social Sciences Majors' Seniors Presently Enrolled and Graduates of 1974 and 1975"

Ruth E. Swain, "The Biography of Dr. Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher"

Elwyn E. Welch, "The Effect of High School Integration on Black Students' Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities in Guthrie, Oklahoma"

Mississippi Valley State University

Danny Allen, "A Geographical Analysis of Health Care Services in Mississippi"

Willie Barnes, "Social Science Research Methodology — A Mini-Course"

Peter Liu, "A Comparative Study of the Development of Chinese Political-Cultural Values in the Post-Cultural Revolution Period, 1969-76, with those in the Pre-Cultural Revolution Period, 1955-65"

Mary Prince, "The Mississippi Indian: A Union List of Mississippi Indians in Eleven Libraries"

Paine College

Guy Townsend, "British Newspaper and Periodical Reaction to the Belgian and Polish Revolutions of 1830"

Pierrette Frickey, "An Annotated Bibliography to be Used in a Study Upstairs vs. Downstairs: The Emancipation of Women Through the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Novel"

Frances Brown, "The Degree of Ethocentrism on Paine College's Campus"

Vera Thurmond, "Relationship Between Freshmen's Perceptions of Their Reading Ability and Scores on a Standardized Reading Test"

Ellis Rece, "Patterns in Changing of Major Fields at Paine College and the Motives for Such Changes"

Louise Rice, "How the Thirteen College Curriculum Program (TCCP) Affects Motivation and Attitudes in Freshman Students and Implications for Change"

Larry Sargent, "Positive Reinforcement: An Experimental Approach for Improving Academic Performance Among College Students"

Oakwood College

D. F. Blake, "What is a Race?"

Frances Bliss, "The Employment Patterns of Graduates of Selected Education Programs"

Mervyn A. Warren, "The Other Washington Model For Black Students; Is There a Case for Modern Black Higher Education?"

Juliette Phillips, "A Study of Health Care Received by Unwed Mothers in North Alabama"

David Richardson, "A Study of the Nutritional and Socio-Economic Factors Effecting the Academic Performance (Reading and Mathematics) of Students in Grades 1 through 6"

Southern University

John J. Healy, "Preservation of French Tradition in the Culture of Bayou LaCombe and Bonfouca: An Oral History Project"

Ernesta Lucas, "Comparative Employment Growth Among Ethnic Groups in the United States: 1960-1974"

Dingo Kuo, "A Comparison of Intention to Establish Formal Relations Between the United States and Communist China"

Carmello Astilla, "An Assessment of the American Good Neighbor Policy: El Salvador, A Case Study"

Felix James, "The Activities of Robert Russa Moton Among Black Troops During World War I"

Willene Taylor, "*Mulier Est Hominis Confusio?* or *Hominis Est Mulier* Confusio? That is the Question in *The Canterbury Tales*"

Mohinder Atwal, "Strategies and Techniques for Designation and Treatment of Hyperkinetics and Their Impact"

Martin Simpson, "Density and Social Pathology in New Orleans"

Kenneth Cocke, "Community Structure and Population Change in Puerto Rican Non-Metropolitan Counties, 1940-1970"

Julian Candiff, "A Selecting Bibliography of African, Antillean, and Malagasy Writers of French Expression"

Stillman College

Evelyn Baker and Albert Smith, "Mediated Instruction in Basic Skills"

Kathryn B. Clark, "Identification and Analysis of Some Innovative Approaches Other Nations Have Taken to Certain Problems Shared in Common with the United States"

Eula J. Danzy, "The Teaching of Black Literature in Post-Secondary Schools"

Charles E. Millar, "Professional Education—A Major Responsibility"

Bettie M. Smith, "The Status of Women's Athletics in CORT Colleges"

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Julia B. Tidwell, "Some Functions of the Imagery of Colette"

Wiley College

Sam Taylor, "Status of Non-Unanimous Jury in the United States"

Y. H. Chung, "Korean Education Commission Under United States Military Government in Korea—1945-1948"

Sharon Masingale, "*Alexis Romancero aux etoiles* as a Work of Cultural Affirmation and Revolutionary Impulsion"

Robert Scherer, "A History of Wiley College"

Joseph Velo, "East and South African Homonid Sites from the Aspects of Stone Tool Tradition"

Inez D. Jenkins, "Black Methodists in the Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church"

Yale Mandel, "American Public Education as an Instrument of Social Control"

Walter Sutton, "Status of Black Coaches in Texas in the 1970's"

David Houston, "A Comparison of Self-Concepts, Teacher Perception, and Achievement Levels of Elementary School Children"

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Jerome Albert, "Transactional Analysis as Applied to Nursing"

Sammy E. Elaasar, Estimating the Economic Impact of Winston-Salem State University on the Local Community"

Charles F. Gray, "Musical Adaptations of Shakespeare's Plays"

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Larry L. Hungerford, "Black Patriots: Lives of Unsung Revolutionary War Veterans"

Paul E. Kuhl, "Gringo in the Andes: Thomas B. Wood and the Normal Schools of Ecuador"

Wilfred G. Mears, "The Value of the Collegiate Solo Recital to Teachers of Public School Music"

Virginia K. Newell, "Development of a Mathematics Learning Package Experimental Curriculum from the Newspaper for Students Majoring in Elementary Education at Winston-Salem State University"